my grandmother who, with her plot of paddy land and her fruit and vegetable gardens, was among the wealthiest in the village, never connected these with her children or those of her friends.

Grandfather died when quite young, leaving my Paw-Pwa (Grandmother) with four sons and two daughters, of whom my father was the eldest. Like all the boys of the village, my father after eight or nine years of unrestrained childish delights when he could play all day, in the stream and up and down the village streets, stopping only when hungry or tired, wheedling the grown-ups to let him sit up till late at night listening to stories, was sent to the monastery on the outskirts of the village. The word for monastery in Burmese, *kyaung*, is the same as the word used for school, and it was to be taught learning and holiness, obedience and discipline, dexterity in manual and domestic tasks, and to be given a deep spiritual influence to last throughout life, that Grandmother and her friends sent their sons there. The parents whose hearts suffered too much at the thought of inflicting any punishment themselves now handed them over to the monks with the plea that they would teach them to be good and obedient, and chastise them severely if they did not obey.

The kyaung at Ye, like all kyaungs in Burma, was built in surroundings chosen for their pleasantness. On a slight slope overlooking the stream was a pagoda, the pagoda of the village where the people came on fasting and feast days to kneel on the paved platform around the tapering golden spire and recite the precepts. Down from the platform the steps were lined with shady trees, and to one side of this was the monastery, a wooden building with verandahs and tiered roofs, set in a large garden, containing a few flower beds for offerings at the altars, but chiefly wide shady spaces, great trees including a *nyaung-bin* (a sacred banyan, with huge spreading branches), flowering *gangaw* trees and deep green mango trees. In one corner was a well.

The monks consisted of the *saya-daw*, the senior monk who acted as head and abbot, about twenty monks who had been formally admitted to the order and were called *upasins*, and a number of novices who were wearing the yellow robe either for a short time, or to be admitted as monks later on. My father and his companions were admitted as *kyaungthas*, scholars. The monks spent their days in the recitation of religious formulæ and teachings, in meditation, in the telling of beads and the teaching of scholars. They did this while observing a strict and simple life, abstaining from solid food after noon, possessing no goods except the essential articles laid down in the monastic rules, observing chastity and poverty. To the people of the village they were the embodiment of good and holiness, living the noblest and most meritorious life a man can live. The people addressed them in conversation as

361 504 about 300 miles, dividing the valley of the Irrawaddy from that of the Sittang, both rich alluvial valleys, so that Rangoon could stretch out its arms uninterruptedly, by road and rail and water, far up these valleys, and draw down their teak, oil and other products for export.

The actual development had taken advantage of these natural points. Along the river front were several wharves which, dredged and drained carefully, could take vessels up to 8,000 tons. Back from the Strand the city was laid out in three parallel rows, roughly two miles from east to west. Cutting down across these rows to the biggest wharf area was the broad Sule Pagoda Road with the hill of the pagoda forming the natural central circus of the city. In this area of neatly laid out streets were the shops, offices, congested city dwellings, bazaars, narrow shut-in buildings and all the appurtenances of a city; and just where the innermost parallel ended, the railway looped through, flinging one arm up to join Prome on the central Irrawaddy, the other to Mandalay 386 miles away, and, from this arm, a line down to the Tenasserim coast. Beyond the city area the residential areas and suburbs stretched—fringing the Royal Lakes just outside with big houses of rich people; nestling among the wooded hilly Golden Valley round the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Hill, the smallness of this hilly area being drawn out with the meandering of the roads, so that the Burmese named part of it *Wingaba*, a maze, which hid cool retreats like the *Nga Dat Gyi:* Five Levels Pagoda, and a tank of sacred turtles; extending miles in a pleasant garden city of newer rich bungalows till it reached the Victoria Lakes, the University Estate and the airport beyond; taking on a village character in small wooden houses of a Burmese quarter at Kemmendine along which the Rangoon River flowed as a country river; and straggling out in less pleasant poor suburbs to the east along the Pazundaung Creek.

346 Over all this area, the Shwe Dagon Pagoda shone like a golden light. Theinguttara Hill, besides being an echo of the last world, is also the last spur of the Pegu Yomas chain which gradually peters out north of Rangoon. It has been built up to about 150 feet above the surrounding area, and from this platform the Shwe Dagon Pagoda rises, from an octagonal plinth moulded into a lotus bloom turned downwards, tapering into soft encircling rings from which is moulded again a gently swelling plantain bud, the clay merging into more soft undulations which rise to the very summit in the tightest bud of all—the *seinbu*, diamond bud—forming, by a re-echoing of the lotus buds which once sprang up here, a shapely slender spire, tapering to the point of a bud and yet composed of curves and gentle fullness. The whole pagoda was covered with pure gold leaf and its summit was crowned with a delicate *hti*, an umbrella of gold on whose rings were hung gold and silver jewelled bells which

tinkled with every passing breeze. The Shwe Dagon Paya was a beautiful 346
and sacred thing. In the early mornings it gave a radiance to the clear
air and the blue sky; in the daylight it shone forth like a blaze of gold,
burning and pure; in the evenings it glowed softly as the breeze tinkled
its bells, and filled the heart with a gentle sadness which is not grief but
a sweet perception of unearthly things; and at night the lights flooded it
to stand high and illumined above the dark wooded slopes of the hill.
At all times and from all parts of Rangoon it could be seen, calm and sub-
lime, with the same smiling look as is seen on the face of the Buddha, not
smiling in the eyes or mouth but in the serene expression of inward calm.

As we landed in Rangoon we saw a great gathering of people waiting 177.
to meet us. Going abroad for years of study is still a rare enough event 57
to be of interest to all relatives and neighbours, so that the people were 873.
assembled not only for an affectionate reunion, but also to observe in 186
what way the stay in England might have corrupted Burmese habits.
In the case of a man it is always feared that he may bring back an English 582
wife, and it sometimes happens that a loved child who has been away for
five and six years may be greeted with tears and mourning rather than
expressions of joy, if he has married an English girl. The tears of mother
and sisters are very heartfelt; they express shame at what the neighbours
will think, sorrow at the alienation of the man and his children which must
inevitably occur, and chagrin at the loss of the rich dowry which might
have been procured in the marriage market.

Even when a man does not marry in England, he is strongly scrutin-
ized for undesirable preferences in the matter of marriage arrangements.
I remember the night my brother came home. It was his first evening
in Burma after nine years of English schooling and University, and it
was clear enough that he was neither married nor secretly engaged to an
English girl. But my Ma Ma Gyi, my eldest woman cousin who had
children as old as we were, subjected him to a searching enquiry. "Set-
Set," she said, calling him by his childhood name, "do you think English
girls are more attractive than Burmese girls?" My brother who had
many English friends but had not noticed any Burmese girls during his
few hours in Burma, tried not to answer this question. On being held
to it, he said they were different from each other and could not be com-
pared. My cousin said, "But which do *you* like better?" She was
getting quite stern by this time, and my mother and we who felt very
sorry for my brother were all praying that he would tell a lie, as we held
our breath. My brother repeated with much awkwardness that the two
were different; so now my cousin took his opinion for granted, and
lectured him on the desirability of marrying in an orthodox Burmese
manner so that he would prove himself a good son to his mother, a good

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CHAPTER II

SCHOOL DAYS

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I SUPPOSE Englishmen will never get rid of the notion that monastic schools must needs be dull and dismal, that hours of study only alternate with seasons of austerity and rough punishments. The uninhabited, almost deserted, appearance of the Burmese kyoung; its isolated position; the solemn, restful front which it always preserves, no matter how lightened up by profuse gilding and the carved magnificence of its panels and eaves' boards, or how embowered in rich and waving foliage; the austere aspect and slow-paced gait of the mendicants in their sad yellow robes—all these things inevitably encourage the foreigner in the belief that the monotony and the discipline must crush all life and light-heartedness out of the young scholars.

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Nothing, however, can be farther from the actual fact. No Etonian, no old Rugbeian, can look back with greater delight on triumphs on the river or in the football field, than the grown-up Burman does on his early days at the Pôngyi Kyaung. There are no rough games to remember, it is true, no strivings of any kind with members of another institution. Those things do well enough for a cold-country people. The Burman's reminiscences are of a quieter kind. There was the emulation with the chin lôn, the wicker football, to see who could keep it longest in the air by dexterous use of knee, foot, shoulder, thigh, and cheek. How it relieved the body and freshened the mind after hours of poring over little hand-blackboards, covered with cramped words and letters, in the quiet rooms inside. Then there were the games at gônnyinhto, an elementary combination of skittles

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[293] dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

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561 When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of
779 ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all
212 the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round
531 character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos,
[195] called Wut-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE MONASTERIES

792 346 OUTSIDE every village in Burma, no matter how small, there stands a pôngyi kyaung. There may have been no one wealthy enough, or zealous enough, to build a pagoda, or the proximity of some ancient and eminently famous shrine may have rendered unnecessary a general subscription for such a purpose, but there is always a building for the mendicants. Away from the noise of the people—for the monastery must not have secular houses near it—surrounded by great, well-foliaged trees, tamarinds, mangoes, jacks, cocoa-nut, and areca, and palmyra palms, sâl trees, and the tha-bye-bin, to shield them from the heat and supply them with fruit, the monks' position is well calculated to attract those who are tired of the tumult and bickerings and sorrows of the world. There the pyin-sin pass their time without a care to ruffle the tranquil current of their lives; without trouble as to their food, for a pious and kindly population supplies them far beyond their wants; with no irksome duties, for nothing is required of them in return; with no care but how to get through the day with as little trouble and ennui as possible; seeking nothing but the fulfilment of the Law, and the path to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recurring existences; no wonder many novices come to like the ways of the religious house and yearly swell the ranks of the order, so that there are no signs, two thousand five hundred years after the founding of the religion, of any weakening of its strength.

The first beikkus dwelt under the shade of the forest trees, or perhaps in small huts erected there to shelter them

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from the pitiless sun and the raging of the storms. This is the explanation of the circumstance that every Budh is specially connected with some tree, as Shin Gautama with the bawdi-bin, the banyan, under which he attained his full dignity, and the eng-gyin-bin, the *Shorea robusta*, under which he was born and died, and, as we are told, the last Budh of this world cycle, Arimadeya, will receive his Buddhaship under the *Mesua ferrea*. Hence the regard for trees which the Burmans share with so many other nations, ancient and modern, and the fact that a clump of palmyras and tamarinds seen in the distance infallibly suggests a monastery. It is not to be supposed, however, that it was the intention of the Lord Buddha that the sacred order should remain far away from mankind in lonesome huts in the depths of the forest. Very early in his teaching, kings, nobles, and wealthy men vied with one another in erecting spacious and magnificent dwellings for the Budh himself and his disciples. Most noted among these were the Zetawun Monastery, built by the rich man Anatabein, within which the celebrated Mingala Thôt sermon was preached by the Buddha to a pious-minded déwa; the Pôppayôn Kyaung and that of Weluwun built by the wealthy dame Withaka and King Bimbathara of Razagyo, to both of which Shin Gautama frequently retired to spend the rainy season of Lent. These were all magnificently adorned; and it is expressly mentioned that the pious need spare themselves no expense in constructing and adorning such religious buildings, though the inhabitant of the most gorgeous of them dresses in no way differently from the humblest anchorite, and has no more costly utensils.

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Ordinarily the monastery is built of teak, though in many places, both in Mandalay and Lower Burma, brick buildings are being erected, notwithstanding the prejudice that exists against them from their greater liability to damage in the case of earthquakes. The shape is always oblong, and the inhabited portion is raised on posts or pillars, some eight or ten feet above the ground. They are, like all the other houses in the country, never more than one story high; for if it is an indignity to a layman to have any one over his head, it is much more so to a member of the

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brotherhood. The space between the ground and the floor of the kyaung is always kept open and is never used except by the school-boys, who have not arrived at notions of personal dignity, and find the locality retired and convenient for games at gôn-nyin-to, and the discussion of forbidden eatables, or subjects of conversation. There are always a few pariah dogs there too, dozing off the surfeit of food they have had from the morning begging-pots, or the offerings at the pagoda. A flight of steps of stone or wood leads up to the verandah, which extends all along the north and south sides, and frequently all round the building. If the steps are of stone, or rather brickwork covered with plaster, they are usually adorned at the foot by propylæa in the shape of two bilus, or a couple of manôt-thiha—curious creatures, half man half lion—usually bold enough in conception, if somewhat rough in execution. Tiers of trefoil heads usually characterise the parapets when they are of mason-work. When the ladder is of wood it is covered with spirited carving in deep relief, representing nats and ogres, dancing figures and grim warriors, with abundant scroll-work as everywhere else throughout the building.

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From the raised floor thus reached, rises the building, with tier upon tier of dark massive roofs, giving the appearance of many stories when there is actually but one, for the reason already mentioned. This style of roofing was allowed only for religious buildings, for the royal palaces, and for the houses of a few high officials who acquired the honour by special patent, and with whom the form and number of roofs was a matter of regulation settled by the sumptuary laws. Under British rule it is practically confined to monastic buildings and the houses of feudatory chiefs. This spire-like style of roof is called pyathat, and properly there are but three kinds: with three super-imposed roofs called yāma, with five roofs called thuba, and with seven, as the royal palace and the most sacred kyaungs, called thuyāma. The ends of the gables are adorned with pinnacles or finials, each with a curious wooden flag at the top and crowned with a hti, gilt and furnished with bells, copper, silver, or gold, the whole being elaborately carved. The triple, quintuple, and septuple roofs of the monastic houses, with their

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elaborate adornments, there is little doubt found their origin in the opportunity which wood gave for the development of ornament in the way of carving. If the wooden monasteries are compared with the strikingly similar wooden churches in Norway—at Hitterdal, for example, or Borgund—we have a proof that nature, under like circumstances, always produces like results from human ingenuity. It may be added that the simple tumulus, which was the original idea of the bell-pagoda, is also found in the Scandinavian *haug*.

The kyaung accommodation is very simple. It consists in the main of a great central hall divided into two portions, one level with the verandah where the scholars are taught, and most of the duties of the monastery carried on, and the other a raised dais, two feet or so above the level of the rest of the building. Seated upon this the yahans are accustomed to receive visitors, and at the back, against the wall, are arranged the images of Buddha, a large one usually standing in the centre on a kind of altar with candles, flowers, praying flags, and other offerings placed before it, and on shelves alongside a number of smaller figures of gold, silver, alabaster, clay or wood, according to the popularity of the kyaung and the faith of the neighbourhood. Close by are placed also the manuscript chests, sadaiks, small shrines, models in wood of monasteries and pagodas, the fans and other religious implements of the pyin-sin and the gifts of the pious, heaped together ordinarily in very careless fashion. The central image is almost invariably placed on the eastern side of the building. There are occasionally dormitories for the monks, but as a rule they sleep in the central hall, where the mats which form their beds may be seen rolled up round the pillow against the wall. In many monasteries there is a special room for the palm-leaf scribes, often detached from the main building, as are the cook-room and the bathing-houses.

The whole area of the extensive compound in which the monastery stands is enclosed by a heavy teak fence with massive squared posts and rails, seven or eight feet high. All within this parawun is sacred ground, and the laity, when they enter, take off their shoes and carry them in their hands. This rule applies to the highest in the land, and when a

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all carefully preserved, along with many other gifts of the home-keeping pious; rolls of yellow cloth, Dutch clocks, betel-nut boxes, spare spittoons, and begging-pots, rugs, and pots of honey. The images of the kyaung, contrary to the usual custom, are placed in a glass case in the centre of the room, instead of at the east end. This situation is due to their value, most of them being of silver or gold, and one or two studded with precious stones.

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The Thiho Taik was certainly one of the neatest and most methodically arranged monasteries to be seen anywhere. Unfortunately it was burnt with many others in the year of the Annexation. There were many more gorgeously decorated, and still more that were larger. The biggest in Burma was probably the Maha Yatana Paungdaw, which stood near the great Arakan Pagoda in the suburbs of Mandalay, and was in great part burnt down in 1879. The building, with its encircling platform, measured 440 feet by 200, and was supported by 404 massive teak trees, none less than two feet in diameter, and the central posts, which upheld the topmost tier of roof, must have been quite eighty feet in height. Near Maulmein, in Lower Burma, there is another kyaung remarkable for the huge girth of its posts.

The brick monasteries are commonest in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and other old capitals. They are covered with chunam, and in place of having a spire, are themselves built in the form of a pya-that, rising in the shape of rectangular terraces to a considerable height. Round the central hall, which is often divided by a gilt railing across the centre, are a number of cloisters and corridors, which ensure a perpetual cool breeze. Many of these monasteries are adorned with fresco paintings in the hall and in the honeycomb of corridors, representing usually scenes from the Zāts, passages in the life of Shin Gautama, an especially favourite one being the Jataka of Nemi, where the pious prince is represented as a white ghostly figure in a chariot, passing, like the *pius Æneas*, through the dismal abodes of hell and the six heavens of the nats. Some other representations portray the occupations of daily life, such as feasting, hunting, weaving, and the different nationalities to be seen

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Indians

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in the country. A very common scene shows the punishment which awaits fishermen in the next existence. The miserable destroyer of animal life is represented as dangling by the tongue on a fish-hook, while demons jerk him into the air, and drop him back into a lake of burning pitch. Many of them have inscriptions below to explain the subject of the picture. Thus in Pagàn:—

"When King Ne-bin Min-gyi reigned in Methila over the ten governors, according to the old books, the Thagya Min came from the nat heavens to help him."

"In the Monastery Yatana Shwe-daing, our Lord preached the Patenôn Tagayo, and remained several days."

"Shin Thumeda (Gautama), in the land of Thudawdana, received the Buddhaship under the banyan tree."

"Payā Alaung Theidat (the embryo Budh, Prince Siddartha), the King's son, married 4000 charming Yathe-mya."

"Our Lord rides on the elephant Nalagiri."

And so on in great variety. One also often finds such a notice as this scrawled on the wall: "In order to be prepared and to gain happiness in the seats of men, of nats, and of ne'ban, the rice-pots are set in order, the images are erected, and the paintings on the walls painted."

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The monasteries are built, supported, and furnished by the pious, but there are not a few of them that have considerable sums of money laid away, usually under the control of the kappiya-dāyaka, the layman who lives in the kyaung, and provides for the wants of its inmates. A number of the royal fields round about Aungbinle, where the Burmese army assembled to seek victory before entering on a campaign, were set apart for the use of the Royal monastery at Payā Gyi, and the revenues were kept in a huge-money-chest, which was always under the care of a guard of soldiers. Much of the money was devoted to the adornment of the adjacent pagoda. None can be spent on embellishing the monastery itself. That would be as great a sin as if a monk should build one for himself, besides that it would be depriving the populace of much opportunity for gaining merit.

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There are a few monasteries of the Pônnas here and there in the large towns throughout the country. These

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done in order to legally hand over a gift. As the water falls drop by drop on the ground, the pôngyis read out the formulæ, the substance of which is as follows: "Firm in my belief in the three precious things, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly, I make this offering that I may be freed from all present and future miseries. May all creatures suffering torment in the four states of punishment reach the happy seats of nat-dêwas. May all my relatives, friends, and all men inhabiting this earth and the ten thousand worlds, share in the benefits of this meritorious work. O earth, and ye spirits, guardians of this place, bear me witness to the piety of this gift."

It is worthy of note that it is explicitly stated that the inward dispositions of the giver have nothing to do with the merit resulting from a good work. The merits are strictly proportioned to the degree of sanctity or perfection of him who receives the alms. Hence the glorious release which awaits an otherwise bad man who erects a pagoda.

Zedis are of many shapes and degrees of elaboration, but one common idea may be traced through them all. If you ask a Burman monk the cause of the variations in the form of the payā, he will tell you that the Buddha left no instructions regarding them in the holy books, but had only said that a small mound should be raised over his bones in the form of a heap of rice. Apart from the relation in which the payā stands to the Buddha himself as the representation of the holy one sunk in meditation, the ostensible object is the preservation of relics, and these are to be laid in a shrine, like the lotus-bud of which the zedi is typical, and later by an extending of the lines this got the form of a bell or spire. In the Malla Lingaya Wuttu we are told that the infant Buddha in the womb of Queen Maia resembled a lotus-bud, or a beautiful pagoda, and the conjunction of this idea with the simple original tumulus has undoubtedly led to the typical form as now seen in Burma. The names for various parts of the building all recall the idea of the flower-bud, with its young leaves folded in adoration. Thus the rounded swelling just below the slender spire is called the hnget-pyaw-bu, the banana palm-bud, and on the extreme summit

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Lower Burma

at the top of the hti is the seinbu, the diamond-bud, which in not a few poor districts is represented by a soda-water bottle, which combines the resemblance to a flower-bud with the good offices of a lightning conductor. The hnget-pyaw-bu is usually surrounded with lavish adornment of the sacred lotus. The payās that rise up into a plain cone or spire are therefore the nearest to the original tumulus, the top being simply drawn out into a conical point. On the other hand, the bell-like pagodas are only a direct imitation of the lotus-bud, and this has led to the more rounded dome-like forms, sometimes called thabeit hmauk, the inverted begging-pot. This term, however, is applied to the swelling-out round part on every pagoda, and has thence been borrowed to designate special shrines. It has nothing to do with phallic worship as some have imagined, nor is there any idea of the resemblance to a human skull. Such grim reminders of mortality common in Thibetan Buddhism do not commend themselves to the Burman.

The buildings are all made of crumbling, sun-dried brick, for it is enough to gratify the pious feeling of the moment, and even the long years that the most solidly built stone edifices might last would only be as an evanescent drop in the stream of eternity. Thus the Burman sees no harm in building pagodas of sand, or even cloth and pasteboard, and in the national annals the victory which false shrines won over more substantial erections is a favourite theme. In Lower Burma, the payās are mostly of the simplest pattern, derived from the archetypal rice-heap and the lotus-bud. They are solid pyramidal cones, rising with a gradually diminishing rounded outline, and surmounted by a hti, or "umbrella" spire, a construction resembling the musical instrument called a *chapeau chinois*, formed of concentric rings, lessening to a rod with a small vane called hnget-ma-nā on the top. They are almost without exception erected on more or less elevated platforms. Burma is quite different from other Buddhist countries, where the relics are exhibited on great feast days. The payā is perfectly solid with the exception of the tāpana taik, situated directly under the spire and the hti, and

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Pegu hills attracts at the time of the annual festival in March, pilgrims, not only from the farthest parts of Burma, but from Cambodia, Siam, and Corea. The stately pile stands upon a mound partly natural, partly artificial, which has been cut into two rectangular terraces, one above the other, each side, as is the case with all pagodas, facing one of the cardinal points of the compass. The upper terrace, which has been carefully levelled and paved and repaved by the pious, rises 166 feet from the level of the ground, and is 900 feet long by 685 wide according to English measurement. The ascent was by four flights of brick steps, one opposite the centre of each face, but the western approach has been closed by the fortifications built by the English conqueror to dominate the town and secure the pagoda, where there was so much desperate fighting in the Burmese wars. Ordinarily with other pagodas, the eastern flight is the most holy and therefore the most cared for; but the town of Rangoon lies to the south, and consequently this ascent is the grandest.

At the foot are two gigantic leogryphs, built of brick, covered with plaster and gaudily painted. From them up to the platform, the saung-dan, the long stairs, are covered by a rising series of handsomely-carved teak roofs, supported on huge wood and masonry pillars. The heavy crossbeams and the panelling are in many places embellished with frescoes, representing scenes in the life of the Great Master and his disciples, and with hideously curious representations of the tortures of the wicked in the fiery chambers of hell. The steps themselves are exceedingly primitive and dilapidated. They have been manufactured piece by piece, apparently by ardent seekers after merit. Here and there they are made of broad stone flags from Penang and Bombay, but for great part of the distance they consist of simple sun-dried bricks, worn almost into a slope by the pious feet of myriads of worshippers—bare feet too, for none but Europeans are allowed to mount the steps with boots on. The stairs are wonderfully uncomfortable, not merely because they are so dilapidated, but because they are seemingly constructed with the object of preventing any one from ascending or descending with unseemly haste. They are

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Upper Burma

346 184 there is no means of entering this to view the sacred relics. The addition of spires and the elaboration of the central pyramid are later thoughts, and give hints of the great architectural efforts to be seen in Upper Burma. The peaks of Mount Myinmo are said to have furnished the first notion. In some cases, as at the Shwe San-daw of Prome, the central spire is surrounded at its base by a circle of small gilded temples or zediyan, forming a continuous wall round the pagoda, each containing an image of the Buddha, and suggesting the idea of the Setyawala hills round the world-girding Thamôddaya sea. In almost all the larger payās there are arched wings on each face of the lower platform, serving, as it were, as ante-chapels, and each containing a large Gautama. It is obvious how easily the introduction of these niche chapels led to the halls and aisles of the Pagān temples. Still this elaboration remains only a sign of architectural genius, and not of greater sanctity, for in every case the building itself serves only as a meet place for meditation and praise in thought or words. The great temples of Pagān, with their galleries, transepts, and corridors, have more of the character of churches in the ordinary acceptation of the word, and the Ananda above all, with its echoing vaults and dim religious light, reminds one especially of some great cathedral of the Middle Ages. But the outward magnificence of the Pagān temples does not win for them the reverence which is shown to vastly plainer bell pagodas.

346 Of all the shrines, the Shwe Dagôn Payā, the great pagoda of Rangoon and the most venerable place of worship in all the Indo-Chinese countries, is the finest and the most universally visited. Its peculiar sanctity is due to the fact that it is the only payā, known to Buddhists, which contains actual relics, not only of Shin Gautama, but of the three Budhs who preceded him in this world. In the tāpana taik of the pagoda, along with eight hairs from the head of the Buddha, in the eleventh andrakap of whose cycle we are now living, there exist the ye-thauk-palā, the drinking-cup of Kaukkathan; the tl.engan or robe of Gawnagông; and the taungwe or staff of Kathapa. Little wonder then that the glittering gold spire on the last spur of the

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●346 [181] too broad to mount two at a time, and too low[1] to suit occidental tastes taken singly. This method of enforcing respect is characteristic of the Burmese nation, and reminds one of the nails which projected through the floors in the Royal Palace at Mandalay.

The stairs debouch on a broad, open, flagged space, which runs all round the pagoda, and is left free for worshippers. From the centre of this springs from an octagonal bi-nat-daw, or plinth, the profusely gilt, solid brick payā. It has a perimeter of 1355 feet, and rises to a height of about 370, or a little higher than St. Paul's Cathedral. On the summit is the hti, the gilt iron-work "umbrella," on each of whose many rings hang multitudes of gold and silver jewelled bells, which tinkle melodiously with every breath of air. This hti was made and presented by Mindôn Min, the second last King of Burma, and was placed on the summit at a cost of not much less than £50,000. It was constructed by voluntary labour; and subscriptions in money and jewels, with which the vane and the uppermost band are richly studded, flowed in from all parts of Burma. The old king, "the convener of the fifth great synod," strove hard to have it placed on the pagoda entirely at his own cost and by his own men; but the British Government rightly and firmly refused, for had this been done it would have been regarded by British Burmans as an acknowledgment of his suzerainty. After considerable correspondence it was handed over at the frontier to native officials and a body of Buddhist elders, by whom it was conveyed to the holy Theinguttara Mount, and there successfully placed in position. The old hti was lowered intact, and now stands on the platform, filled in and gaily painted like a small pagoda or a florid marriage cake, beside a still earlier decoration which it had supplanted.

At the corners of the basement are somewhat Assyrian-like figures of Manôt-thiha, creatures with two bodies and one head, half lion, half man, with huge ears and ruffled crest, and all round about are stone figures of lions displaying an ample show of teeth between their grinning lips. The tale is that long ages ago a king's son who had been abandoned in the forest was found by a lioness and suckled by

[1] [i.e., the stairs of the Shwe Dagôn Payā -- ANALYST]

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her. When the prince grew to man's estate, he left his foster-mother and swam a broad river to escape from her. The tender mother's heart burst when he reached the other side, and she died; and in remembrance of her love, lions' figures are placed at the foot of all pagoda steps, and round the building itself.

The four chapels at the foot of the pagoda are adorned at the sides by colossal figures of the sitting Buddha, and in the farthest recess, in a niche of its own, is a still more goodly figure, the thick gilding darkened in many places by the fumes of thousands of burning tapers and candles. Hundreds of Gautamas, large and small, sitting, standing, and reclining, white and black, of alabaster, sun-dried clay, or the wood of the Pein-nè, the jack tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), gilded or plain, surround and are propped up on the larger images. Even the figures in the niches are elaborate carved woodwork, representing figures dancing or fighting, and others flying through the air, or, with head on hand, sunk in meditation; monsters of the woods and hills and streams. High stone altars for the offering of rice and flowers stand before the lions, the offering being made to the whole pagoda and not to them. Under the Manôt-thihas at the corners are niche altars for burnt offerings. On the outer edge of the platform are a host of small zedi-yan, each with its hti; tasaungs, image houses, overflowing with the gifts of generations of pilgrims; figures of the Budh in single, low stone chapels; tagôn-daing, tall posts, flaunting from which are long cylindrical streamers, of bamboo framework, pasted over with paper, depicting scenes in sacred history, and often inscribed with pious invocations from the offerer; others are surrounded by the sacred hentha, the Brahminy Goose (*Phœnicopterus rubra*), the emblem of the Talaings, or the kalawaik, the crane of the Burmese. Interspersed among these on the outer edge of the open platform are multitudes of bells of all sizes. Beside each bell, all of which are hung on stout crossbeams supported by two side posts, lie deer's antlers, and pieces of wood with which the worshipper strikes them as he passes. He strikes the bell and then the ground, to call the sky and the earth as witnesses to his prayers. On the eastern side, covered by a

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346 great wooden shed, hangs one of enormous size, inside which five or six men can stand with ease. It was presented by King Tharrawaddy in 1840, on the occasion of a state visit to Rangoon and the payā. It measures seven feet seven and a half inches across the mouth, fifteen inches in thickness, fourteen feet high, and weighs 94,682 lbs. With a proper hammer it ought to give forth a splendid sound, but the ordinary antlers and posts of wood used fail to do it justice. It is second in size in Burma to the great bell at Mengôn, which, apart from the monster at Moscow, is the largest in the world. There is a long inscription on the Maha Ganda (the great, sweet voice) at Rangoon, recounting the merits gained by the monarch who presented it and the praises of him chanted by the Nats, the guardians of the empire. The bell has a curious history. After the second Burmese war, the English made an attempt to carry it off to Calcutta as a trophy, but by some mishap the Maha Ganda toppled over, and sank to the bottom of the Rangoon river. English engineers made several attempts, but failed to raise it. The Burmans, after some years, begged that the sacred bell might be restored to them, if they could recover it. The petition was granted with a sneer, but they set to work, got it out, and carried it in triumph to the place where it now hangs. This success was ascribed by the thoughtful to supernatural aid, but the common people chuckled in a carnal and exultant manner over the victory, and not without very fair reason, for their appliances were of the most primitive kind.

778 Buddhists fix the date of the erection of the Shwe Dagôn Payā in 588 B.C., but the site must have been sacred for cycles before, since the relics of the three preceding Buddhas were found interred, when the two Talaing brothers, Poo (dove) and Tapaw (plenty), came with their precious eight hairs to the Theinguttara hill. The original payā is said in the palm-leaf history to have been only twenty-seven feet high, and it has attained its present height by being repeatedly cased with an outer covering of bricks several feet in thickness. Every now and again it has been completely regilt. Sinbyu Shin, king of Burma, towards the end of the last century, used his own weight in gold in

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the process. He scaled twelve stone three, a remarkably good weight for a Burman, and the gold used cost over £9000. The last occasion when the whole vast bulk was gilt was in 1871, when King Mindôn sent down his hti. On every feast-day and uboné, however, numbers of the pious clamber up wherever they can and fix on little squares of gold-leaf, packets of which can be bought at the stalls below for a few rupees. The consequence is that every now and again the spire breaks out in a rash of bright patches, which give it a mysterious, rough, uneven appearance on clear moonlight nights. Of late years a great part of the lower portion has been covered with thin plates of gold brought by the pious from all parts of the Buddhist world.

It is difficult to say what the real age of the building is, if, as sceptical Englishmen tell us, we are not to place implicit faith in the palm-leaf record. Trustworthy documents reach no further back than the time of the Peguan Queen Shin-saw-bu, who reigned in the early part of the sixteenth century; but there is every reason to believe that a pagoda existed there long before her time. The shrine has remained unaltered in size or shape since 1564, and probably will never be altered again. At all times and at all distances it looks imposing and sublime, like the religion whose followers have built it.

At the base of the pagoda hill are many monasteries embowered in their groves of palmyra palms and shady trees; and to the south is a small convent of nuns, not far from the zayat which the king of Siam had built for pilgrims from his dominions. Similar rest-houses line the Saung-dan all the way up to the pagoda, and they always have occupants; while at the season of the feast in Tabaung they are crowded to overflowing. Lepers, and cripples, and nuns in their white robes, line the steps, and cry out in piteous tones for alms from the passers-by. Nearer the top and round the platform itself are sellers of candles and coloured tapers, Chinese incense-sticks, and prayer-flags, along with abundance of gold-leaf. Numbers of young girls sit about with flowers, especially of the lotus, and meats of different kinds for offerings. Others —these always enfranchised pagoda slaves—sell toys and

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Down the river there are hundreds of others of every variety and degree of decoration. There is the Naga Yôn Payā, the whole building wrought into the form of a dragon; the huge round-domed Kaung-hmu-daw, and the "king's victory pagoda" at Sagaing, the "golden cock-scratching," on the other side, commemorating a favourite legend of the boundless charity of the Budh. There are glistening white pinnacles, or flashing gold spires, far up the Sagaing hills, with thousands of steps wending wearily up over the steep, rough hill-side, and gazing up to them from the Amarapoora side are great massy temples, frowning over the river with all the stern solidity of a knightly hold. Each has its legend, some tale of bloodshed or piety, some event in Burmese history, or birth-story of the Buddha.

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Most renowned, however, for its pagodas is Pagān, in many respects the most remarkable religious city in the world. Jerusalem, Rome, Kieff, Benares, none of them can boast the multitude of temples, and the lavishness of design and ornament that make marvellous the deserted capital on the Irrawaddy. Deserted it practically is, for the few flimsy huts that stand by the river are inhabited only by pagoda slaves and men condemned to perpetual beggary. For eight miles along the river-bank and extending to a depth of two miles inland, the whole space is thickly studded with pagodas of all sizes and shapes, and the very ground is so thickly covered with crumbling remnants of vanished shrines, that according to the popular saying you cannot move foot or hand without touching a sacred thing. Some of the zedis are all but perfect. Restored by the pious, they stand out glistening snow-white, only to render more striking the hoary, weather-beaten ruins of their less-cared-for neighbours. Here the bell-shaped, solid pyramid of Lower Burma is rarely seen. The religious structures fully merit the word temple as understood in ordinary language. To quote Yule, who gives a detailed account of the principal shrines in his *Mission to Ava*, there are all kinds: "The bell-shaped pyramid of dead brickwork in all its varieties; the same raised over a square or octagonal cell, containing an image of the Buddha; the bluff, knob-like dome of the Ceylon Dagobats, with the square cap which seems to have characterised

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346 the most ancient Buddhist *chaityas*, as represented in the sculptures at Sanchi, and in the ancient model pagodas found near Buddhist remains in India; the fantastic bu-payā, or pumpkin pagoda, which seemed rather like a fragment of what we might conceive the architecture of the moon than anything terrestrial, and many variations on these types. But the predominant and characteristic form is that of the cruciform vaulted temple."

778 361 The Irrawaddy just below Pagān widens out like a gigantic lake to over two miles in breadth, and the view of the sacred city from far down the river is particularly fine. Towering above the others rise the great temples of Ananda, Ta-pyi-nyu, and Gawdapalin, like visions of old-world cathedrals strayed into the desert. Round about them gradually rise into view hoary round towers, like a border "peel"; airy minarets as of an underground mosque; apparitions like the pyramids, chiselled into fairy terraced fretwork; huge bulbous mushrooms with slim lanterns on their backs, like the wide studio of a mad architect. There is a memorial line which, placing letters for numbers, declares the sum total of the pagodas to be 9999.

Hlè win-yo than ta-nyan nyan
Pagān payā paung.

The cartwheel's creaking strains
Pass Pagahn's storied fanes.

778 361 172 Probably, however, there are not nearly so many in anything like a complete state. Pagān ceased to be capital in 1284 A.D. The Emperor of China had sent a vast army to avenge the murder of an ambassador. The Burmese king pulled down a thousand arched temples, a thousand smaller ones, and four thousand square temples to strengthen the fortifications. But a prophecy found under one of the desecrated shrines robbed him of his courage, and he fled to the south; and ever since Pagān has remained in its present practically deserted state. The whole ground within the old walls is strewn with bricks and mortar. Some of the zedis are strangled with jungle growth, huge bushes spring from their summits and sides and tear the masonry asunder, and with the vast majority no attempt is made to arrest the ravages

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of time, but Mr. Taw Sein Ko says in his report of 1908: "Numerous terra-cotta tiles have been found in the basements and corridors of several of the pagodas. They illustrate scenes in the *jâtakas* and in the life of the Buddha Gautama. They are of two types. In the Ananda and Shwezigôn the tiles are enamelled green and show Chinese influence. In the Petleik pagoda they are of red baked clay and have South-Indian resemblances. All three shrines belong to the eleventh century A.D. The stone sculptures in the Ananda are fine, and the pose, drapery, and contour are distinctly Indian. In the Sein nyet pagoda, halfway between Myinpagân and Thiyipyitsaya, of the eleventh century, the Chinese influence preponderates. The twin Petleik pagodas are at Thiyipyitsaya."

Few, if any, contain actual relics. The cloistered and terraced temples are simply receptacles for huge images of the Buddha and others. The corridors of the Ananda and Gawdapalin are filled with sculptured groups representing events in the life of the Great Master, and figures of eminent disciples and yahanda. In the central recesses, where are the colossal figures of the Buddhas, the light is cunningly admitted from above so as to fall on the calm gilded face, producing a most weird and striking effect. But Pagân would require a monograph itself, and with it should be compared Shwegu, between Mandalay and Bhamaw. That sacred island is a perfect forest of pagodas, and only fails to obtain wider fame because of the existence of Pagân. There are 999 shrines within its limits, and a much larger proportion of these exist intact than is the case with Pagân, though none of them can compare with the magnificence of the Ananda.

The question of the architecture of the Pagân temples, which is so different in style from that found in other parts of Burma, has been fully discussed in Yule's admirable *Mission to Ava*. He omits, however, to notice the fact that Anawrata-saw Min, when he established Buddhism in Pagân, built all the pagodas and temples after the exact model of those then existing in Thatôn, in the same order and of the same size. The town of Thatôn, above Maulmein, was the first settlement of Thawna and Ôttara, the

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346 missionaries from Central India who introduced the teachings
171 of the Lord Buddha into Burma. There was certainly an
172 ancient Hindu colony there, and its inhabitants may have brought some notions of their architecture with them. But whether this be so or not, Burmans find source for pride in the admitted fact that "there is nothing in India to compare with the classical beauty of some of the smaller temples, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the Ânanda, or the Ta-pyi-nyu."

778 The following song is taken from a very favourite play,
788 *Sawpé Sawmé*, written by a Pegu dramatist and published
538 in 1880, and gives an idea of the canticles sung at the dedication of pagodas and similar ceremonies. It is set to a very popular air, the Yôddaya Nan-thein Than, "the Siamese Palace Tune," but I have not ventured to try to reproduce the original complicated metre. The sikkè or magistrate in question was U Maung Galé, a younger brother of the late U On, long the only Burmese C.I.E., and once second judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon.

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THE GILDING OF THE SHWE MAW-DAW

Far-famed and bright, the Shwe Maw-daw
Is known where'er the Sacred Law
To toiling millions brings the peace,
Bids grief be still and turmoil cease.
Fair glory of Peguan land
Revered on earth's most distant strand,
Not more Dagôn's great golden pile
Hath honour in the Southern Isle,
Where'er beneath the zampu tree
The pious bend the suppliant knee,
Than thou the glorious lotus shrine
High temple of the hairs divine.
As leaps on high the funeral flame
Of some yahan of sainted name,
A beacon light to Neh'ban's rest
And haven sure to men distressed,
So skywards reared, thy shapely spire
Upsprings a pyramid of fire.

The hoar seer's words are now proved true,
Spoke ages since while yet all new

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dêwas, and arahats, and having expounded the Law which was to lead them into the noble path of deliverance, descended again by a magnificent ladder composed in separate strips of gold, silver, and precious stones, to the ne'ban kyaung, where he received the usual pious offerings of the people on his arrival, on the day of the full moon of Thadingyut.

To recall this event in the Buddha's life is the object of the feast, and the preparation of the stage often takes considerably over a week, notwithstanding the facility with which bamboo buildings are run up in Burma. A platform is prepared, from twenty to fifty or sixty feet in height, according to the subscriptions and the scale on which it is intended to carry out the performance. Over this is raised a gaily-decorated pya-that, the tower-like spire with seven diminishing roofs, characteristic of sacred buildings, and leading up to it is a sloping way, representing the Saungdan, the path by which Shin Gautama ascended. Sometimes there is a similar sloping descent on the other side, figuring the ladder which led down to the monastery in the neighbourhood of Sampa Thanago, but more often the ascent and descent are compassed on the same slope, which comes to an abrupt end six or eight feet from the ground, on a level platform, covered by an ordinary roof, if it represents merely the earth, or the sacred pya-that if it does duty also for the ne'ban kyaung. Half-way up there is sometimes a covered stage, representing the Ugandaw hill, on which the Lord Buddha found purchase for his final step to the nat-dêwa country. On the first day of the feast, usually about eight o'clock at night, the whole scene being lighted up by the brilliant moon, occasionally rather spoilt by smoky torches and the evil-smelling fumes of open crude-oil lamps, the procession begins. The image of the Teacher of the Law, always represented sitting cross-legged, is mounted on a little carriage, fitted to run on a tramway reaching right up to the top, and is dragged up by means of a rope and a windlass. This is done slowly and in a rather jerky fashion, partly because the apparatus does not admit of greater expedition, but principally to prolong the function as much as possible, so that all the people may see it and greater merit may be gained. Surrounding the Buddha is a great company

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that this daily procession does good in two ways: it is good for the monk because he learns humility; it is good for the people because they have thereby offered them a chance of giving a little alms. Even the poorest may be able to give his spoonful of rice. All is accepted. Think not a great gift is more acceptable than a little one. You must judge by the giver's heart.

At every feast, every rejoicing, the central feature is presents to the monks. If a man put his son into a monastery, if he make merry at a stroke of good fortune, if he wish to celebrate a mark of favour from government, the principal ceremony of the feast will be presents to monks. They must be presents such as the monks can accept; of course, that is understood.

Therefore a man enters a monastery simply for this: to keep his body in health by perfect moderation and careful conduct, and to prepare his soul for heaven by meditation. That is the meaning of it all.

If you see a grove of trees before you on your ride, mangoes and tamarinds in clusters, with palms nodding overhead, and great broad-leaved plantains and flowering shrubs below, you may be sure that there is a monastery, for it is one of the commands to the monks of the Buddha to live under the shade of lofty trees, and this command they always keep. They are most beautiful, many of these monasteries —great buildings of dark-brown teak, weather-stained, with two or three roofs one above the other, and at one end a spire tapering up until it ends in a gilded 'tee.' Many of the monasteries

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are covered with carving along the façades and up the spires, scroll upon scroll of daintiest design, quaint groups of figures here and there, and on the gateways moulded dragons. All the carvings tell a story taken from the treasure-house of the nation's infancy, quaint tales of genii and fairy and wonderful adventure. Never, I think, do the carvings tell anything of the sacred life or teaching. The Burmese are not fond, as we are, of carving and painting scenes from sacred books. Perhaps they think the subject too holy for the hand of the craftsman, and so, with, as far as I know, but one exception in all Burma—a pagoda built by Indian architects long ago—you will look in vain for any sacred teaching in the carvings. But they are very beautiful, and their colour is so good, the deep rich brown of teak against the light green of the tamarinds, and the great leaves of the plantains all about. Within the monastery it will be all bare. However beautiful the building is without, no relaxation of his rules is allowed to the monk within. All is bare: only a few mats, perhaps, here and there on the plank floor, a hard wooden bed, a box or two of books.

At one end there will be sure to be the image of the teacher, wrought in alabaster. These are always one of three stereotyped designs; they are not works of art at all. The wealth of imagination and desire of beauty that finds its expression in the carved stories in the façades has no place here at all. It would be thought a sacrilege to attempt in any way to alter the time-honoured figures that have come down to us from long ago.

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Over the head of the image there will be a white umbrella, whence we have derived our haloes, and perhaps a lotus blossom in an earthen pot in front. That will be all. There is this very remarkable fact: of all the great names associated with the life of the Buddha, you never see any presentment at all. 778

The Buddha stands alone. Of Maya his mother, of Yathodaya his wife, of Rahoula his son, of his great disciple Thariputra, of his dearest disciple and brother Ananda, you see nothing. There are no saints in Buddhism at all, only the great teacher, he who saw the light. Surely this is a curious thing, that from the time of the prince to now, two thousand four hundred years, no one has arisen to be worthy of mention of record beside him. There is only one man holy to Buddhism—Gaudama the Buddha.

On one side of the monasteries there will be many pagodas, tombs of the Buddha. They are usually solid cones, topped with a gilded 'tee,' and there are many of them. Each man will build one in his lifetime if he can. They are always white. 792 346 778

And so there is much colour about a monastery—the brown of the wood and the white of the pagoda, and tender green of the trees. The ground is always kept clean-swept and beaten and neat. And there is plenty of sound, too—the fairy music of little bells upon the pagoda-tops when the breeze moves, the cooing of the pigeons in the eaves, the voices of the schoolboys. Monastery land is sacred. No life may be taken there, no loud sounds, no noisy merriment, no abuse is permitted anywhere within

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the fence. Monasteries are places of meditation and peace.

Of course, all monasteries are not great and beautiful buildings; many are but huts of bamboo and straw, but little better than the villager's hut. Some villages are so poor that they can afford but little for their holy men. But always there will be trees, always the ground will be swept, always the place will be respected just the same. And as soon as a good crop gives the village a little money, it will build a teak monastery, be sure of that.

Monasteries are free to all. Any stranger may walk into a monastery and receive shelter. The monks are always hospitable. I have myself lived, perhaps, a quarter of my life in Burma in monasteries, or in the rest-houses attached to them. We break all their laws: we ride and wear boots within the sacred enclosure; our servants kill fowls for our dinners there, where all life is protected; we treat these monks, these who are the honoured of the nation, much in the offhand, unceremonious way that we treat all Orientals; we often openly laugh at their religion. And yet they always receive us; they are often even glad to see us and talk to us. Very, very seldom do you meet with any return in kind for your contempt of their faith and habits. I have heard it said sometimes that some monks stand aloof, that they like to keep to themselves. If they should do so, can you wonder? Would any people, not firmly bound by their religion, put up with it all for a moment? If you went into a Mahommedan mosque in Delhi with your boots on, you would probably be killed. Yet

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132 year. There are other festivals: of the New Year,
796 in March, with its water-throwing; of each great pagoda at its appointed time; but of all, the festival of the end of Lent is the greatest.

796 Wherever there are great pagodas the people will come in from far and near for the feast. There are many great pagodas in Burma; there is the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay, and there was the Incomparable pagoda, which has been burnt; there are great pagodas at Pegu, at Prome, at many other places; but perhaps the greatest of all is the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon.

778 You see it from far away as you come up the
346 river, steaming in from the open sea, a great tongue of flame before you. It stands on a small conical hill just behind the city of Rangoon, about two miles away from the wharves and shipping in the busy river. The hill has been levelled on the top and paved into a wide platform, to which you ascend by a flight of many steps from the gate below, where stand the dragons. This entrance-way is all roofed over, and the pillars and the ceiling are red and
[712] painted. Here it was that much fighting took place in the early wars, in 1852 especially, and many men, English and Burmese, were killed in storming and defending this strong place. For it had been made a very strong place, this holy place of him who taught that peace was the only good, and the de-
346 fences round about it are standing still. Upon the top of this hill, the flat paved top, stands the pagoda, a great solid tapering cone over three hundred feet high, ending in an iron fretwork spire that glitters with gold and jewels; and the whole pagoda is

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Burmese AP4

covered with gold—pure leaf-gold. Down below it is being always renewed by the pious offerings of those who come to pray and spread a little gold-leaf on it; but every now and then it is all regilt, from the top, far away above you, to the golden lions that guard its base. It is a most wonderful sight, this great golden cone, in that marvellous sunlight that bathes its sides like a golden sea. It seems to shake and tremble in the light like a fire. And all about the platform, edging it ere it falls away below, are little shrines, marvels of carven woodwork and red lacquer. They have tapering roofs, one above another, till they, too, end in a golden spire full of little bells with tongues. And as the wind blows the tongues move to and fro, and the air is full of music, so faint, so clear, like 'silver stir of strings in hollow shells.'

In most of these shrines there are statues of the great teacher, cut in white alabaster, glimmering whitely in the lustrous shadows there within; and in one shrine is the great bell. Long ago we tried to take this great bell; we tried to send it home as a war trophy, this bell stolen from their sacred place, but we failed. As it was being put on board a ship, it slipped and fell into the river into the mud, where the fierce tides are ever coming and going. And when all the efforts of our engineers to raise it had failed, the Burmese asked: 'The bell, our bell, is there in the water. You cannot get it up. You have tried and you have failed. If we can get it up, may we have it back to hang in our pagoda as our own again?' And they were told, with a laugh, perhaps, that they might; and so they raised it up

342 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with
514 woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

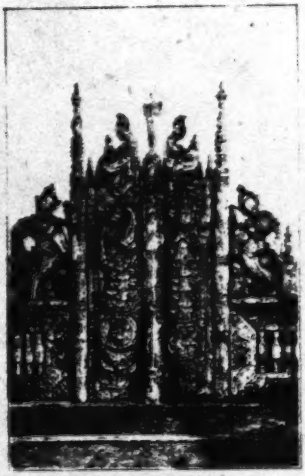
361 The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream
368 from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine
346 rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn
[872] their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on
[364] PWA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on
342 both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only
435 six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no
[651] accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it.
[366] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built
[252] to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that he owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NGA-BU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-HIN-KHIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The
[366] old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

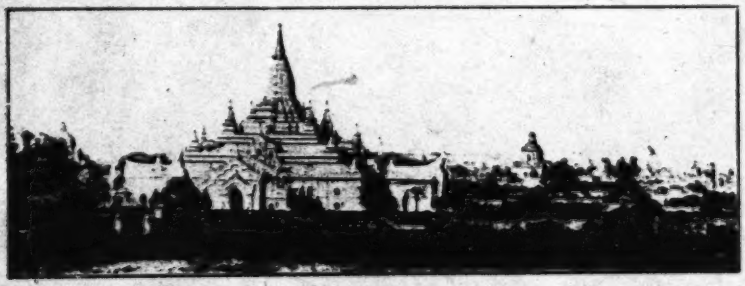
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Talaing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the

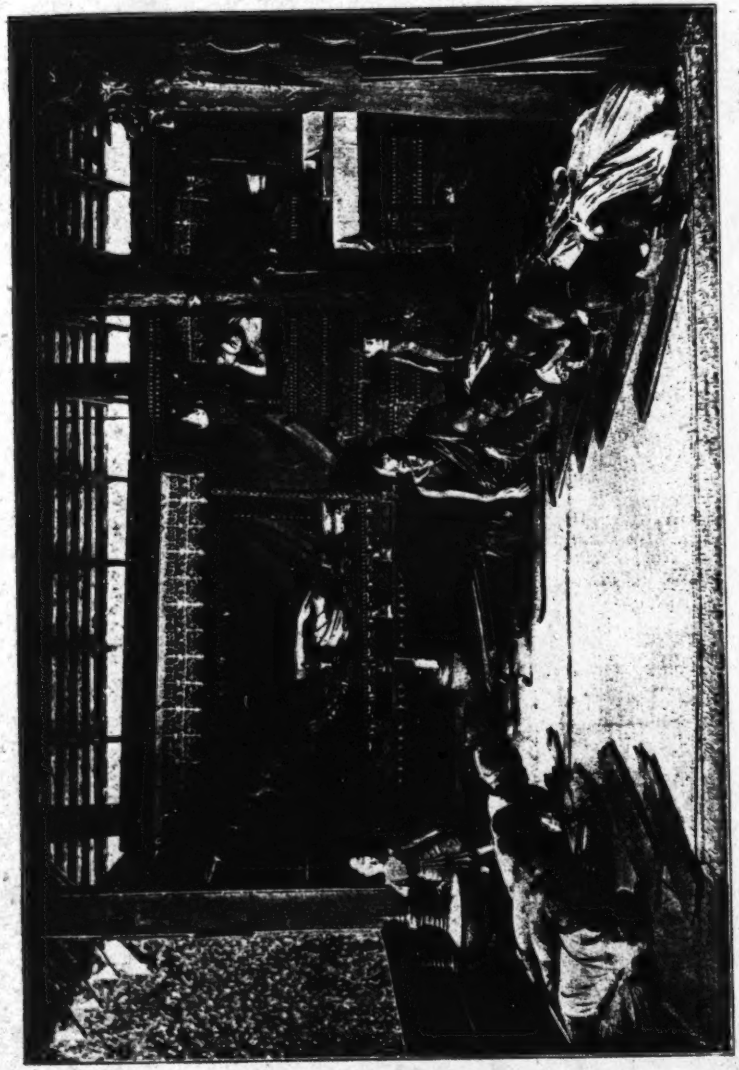


8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

[Off. p. 10

[To face p. 10 346 871 792



22. INTERIOR OF VILLAGE MONASTIC SCHOOL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ni*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dèbyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

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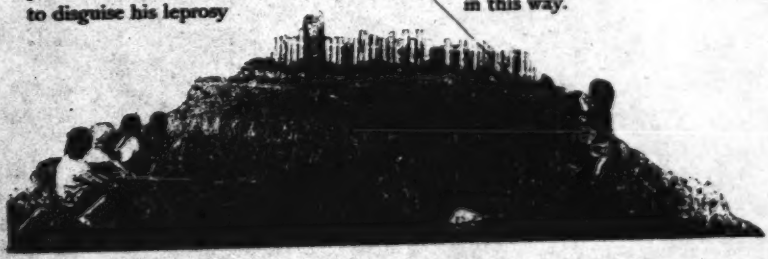

28. KITE-FLYING.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Pitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambawá*, or breviary of scripture, relating to membership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *vihár* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upazin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyizo*, or *Pónáyi*, *Kináyi* (incumbent) of the monastery. In 1891 there were 13,613 *pónáyi*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

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The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thamót*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*ah-kwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*awng*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

[792]

45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 796 778 *kambawd*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yasticha*, the pouring of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

[213]

48. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 735 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabéit* (*thabeit-kmàuk*). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán* might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabéit-kmauk* against a layman for heinous wickedness. His house would be passed by in collecting *sun* and all offerings tendered by him refused. The practice has become obsolete; it is said to have no warrant in the scriptures, and to be contrary to their spirit.

[794] [178]

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabéit* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-tagá*), who nomin-

47. SUN SENT BY THE KYAUNGTARA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 22]

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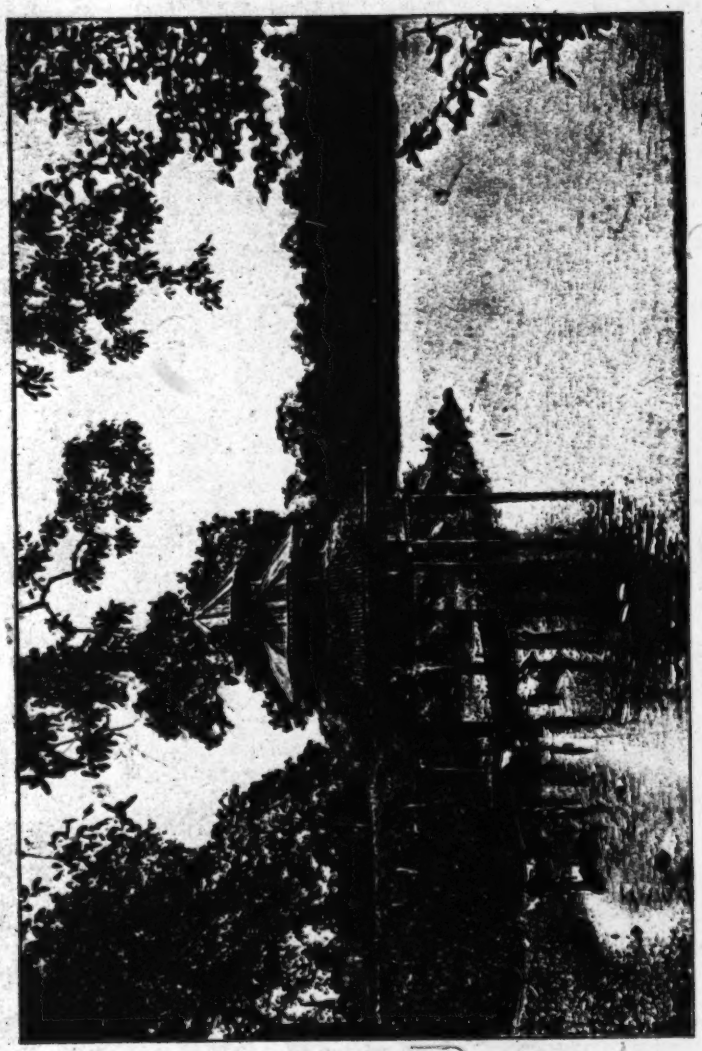

[To face p. 22

48. TEMPLE OVER THE WATER—PETHEIN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *phúdyi*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*hti*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars

792 or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is
264 taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the
273 following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time.
276 Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the
101 religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu. Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiya dayaka*) may

[44] be attached to the monastery by the
792 supporter for the preparation of food
735 and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses

[346] when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual provision of raiment (*kathín thingán*)

[796] is made between the months of *Thadingyut* and *Tasáungmón*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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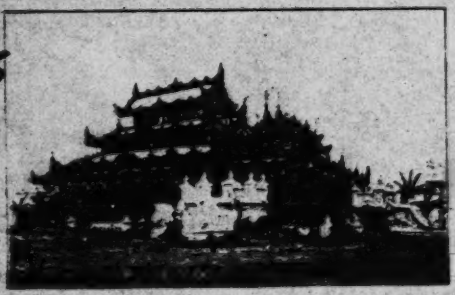

81. KYAUNG AT THE CAPITAL.

carpets, cushions, handkerchiefs, tables, chairs, betel-boxes and spittoons, glassware and crockery, lamps, chandeliers, clocks, knicknacks and furniture, always to the exclusion of gold and silver. Gilt wares are permissible.

The strict *yahán* should prepare his shelter for himself, in an unfrequented place. But by the dispensation already referred to, he may avail himself of a solitary dwelling proffered for his use, and this is invariably the case. Not merely are these schools numerous, but they are the most spacious, substantial, and ornate edifices in the land. Many of them are of palatial size and appointments. The Burman finds nothing too good or too beautiful for those who subject themselves to the restraint of the recluse. The recluse on his part is conventionally oblivious of the magnificence that surrounds him. It is not for him to deprecate. The religious merit of the work, which furnishes the motive of the founder, is proportioned to the outlay upon it. From the bamboo *kyaung* in the forest costing a hundred rupees or less, individuals spend up to hundreds of thousands on the palatial monasteries of the towns (*cf.* p. 75).

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When the incumbent of a monastery removes or dies, the senior sojourner (*upazín*) may receive his place as *póndyí*. Otherwise an *upazín* is invited from elsewhere, or the *póndyí* of another *kyaung* is prevailed upon to move. The *upazín* who has become *póndyí* defers to his preceptor as before. Every monastery has a titular Pali appellation, such as *Thila-ekkaya kyaung*, Letter-of-the-Law monastery.

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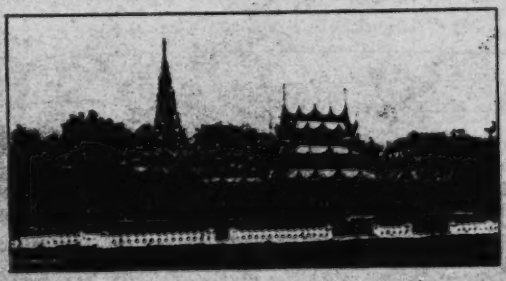
There is no hierarchy in the Assembly of *yahán*. But it commonly happens that a number of monasteries recognise a venerable teacher as referee upon matters of scholarship



82. PALACE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 24]

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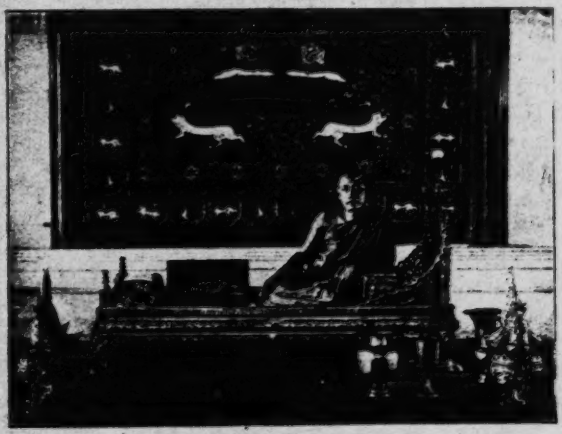
52. SADAW IN HIS STUDY. [To face p. 24.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

792 779 and doctrine. Such a group is called *gaing*, and its president *gaing-ôk*, his deputy *gaing-dauk*. In the same way a group recognise a *Saddw—Sayá-daw*, or chief teacher. The whole body again defer to a chief *Saddw*, usually the



84. YAHAN INSTALLED AS PONDYI.

yahán who has been religious instructor to the King during his novitiate, and who is called *Thátkmoháing*.

792 785 In reaction against the comfort with which the laity endow the monasteries, the *yahán* periodically repair to country retreats for ten or twenty days at a time, either singly or in camps of many, for the sake of cultivating primitive use. Here each *yahán* has a dwelling of the narrowest compass and makes shift with the mere chattels ordained in the canon. But the laity, ever ready to minister to the *yahán*, convert these camps into centres of festivity for the

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85. WUSSAUNG CAMP.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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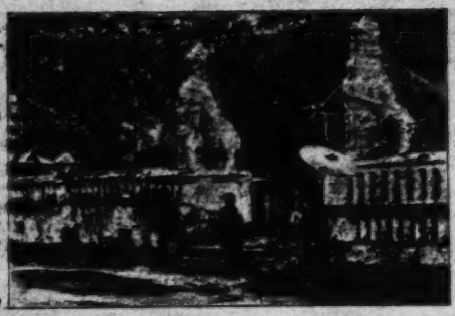

58. YAHAN PASSING THE STREETS.

whole country-side. The camp is laid out in the rice-fields after harvest, in the form of a square, with a pavilion in the middle for the *yahán* to meet and practise confession (*ába-gye*). There are a few *yahán* who do not settle in a *kyaung*, but wander from place to place, in the primitive way, the people providing them with temporary shelter.

The *yahán* make journeys to the seats of learning and the *kyaungs* of their former teachers, and make pilgrimages to shrines. A few travel as far as Ceylon and Buddha Gâya in Bahâr. On such journeys the *yahán* is accompanied by a scholar or attendant deputed by the *kyaungtagá* to carry provisions and money, which the *yahán* may not handle. When not collecting their *sun*, the *yahán* go abroad with attendants and carry umbrellas, or suffer such to be carried over them, and wear sandals. The *yahán* allow themselves to be driven in ox and buffalo carts; but do not drive or mount an animal or avail themselves of horse-draught. They travel by boat, steamer, and rail. Aged *yahán* are carried on a litter (*yin, tsaw*).

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The *kyaung*, primarily a shelter for the *yahán*, has, in virtue of his occupation, come to be a school. It is at first established on the outskirts of a settlement or at some distance away from it. Secular buildings are not erected within the shadow of a religious building. But the growth of towns brings the houses up to the precincts (*parawún*) of the *kyaung*, which stands within a liberal enclosure, planted with fruit-trees. The *kyaung* as such has no particular style. The superposed roofs and decorated spires (*pyatthat*) of the votive *kyaung* are emblems of secular state, added to confer distinction.

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57. YAHAN ON HIS JOURNEY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

28. ABED YAHAN CARRIED ON YIH.

The majority of the *kyaungs* and buildings of Burma are constructed on piles. The country at large is mountainous. The Burman race monopolises the flat lands in the basin of the upper Irawadi — "the narrows" (*Anyd*)—in the same way as the Shan races do in the sphere of their influence and the Mun (or Talaing) race in the south (Pegu). The quasi-aboriginal races occupy the hill-land and mountains. The plains-dweller settles as near as he can to the natural waterways with which Burma is abundantly provided. In the drought the rivers recede to great distances from their flood-level margins. In order to be close to the channels, the houses have to be on high piles. The races of Burma adhere to their practice of pile-building even on elevated sites, such as those of the temples. The Burman wood architecture appears to have developed through the exigencies of pile-building and under the influence, as regards decoration, of an exotic masonry style. The Burman style possesses a naïve charm recalling the art of the "ages of faith" in Western Europe. It has a certain resemblance to the wooden church-building of Norway. The style was in full vigour up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Since that time novelties of type and manufacture have crowded in faster than they could be assimilated into the indigenous arts, on which they are foisted crudely (Nos. 60, 99).

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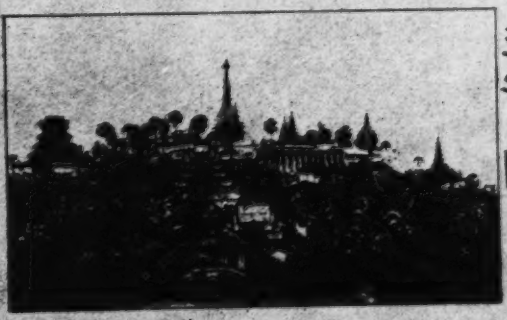
The affinities of Burman art above referred to, to the art of mediæval Europe, are extrinsic only. The "aspiring" character of the florid ornament, the quaint figures in their labyrinths of tracery, recall the crocketed niches and fantastic gargoyles of the



29. TEMPLE HILL.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1931 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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60. DECADENT KYAUNG.

Gothic, especially in the richness of the *ensemble*. But the Burman decoration does not strike the eye as an efflorescence of the structure so much as an overlaying of it. The grandest work produces the effect of an elaborate model rather than a monumental achievement. The perspicuity of the play of forces operating in the structure, out of which the poetry of Gothic architecture flows, has a parallel in the Burman boat-building. But the effort which the land architecture incorporates, to interpret a masonry style in wood, was naturally productive of incongruities, despite the fact that the masonry was itself an interpretation of still earlier wood building. The outward incongruities have been mitigated in the unique style in which the genius of Burma has found expression. The stiff and monotonous feather-ornament of the Hindu gable (No. 74) has developed into the Burman flamboyant decoration. The bold finial is the sole element of the original which has been preserved literally (No. 62). The graduated ornament of the *pyatthat*, soaring above the verdure, recalls the proportions of some budding head-of-bloom—a case in point of the theory of the sources of architectural types, in the insensible suggestions of natural objects, expressed by Herbert Spencer. (*Essays*, vol. ii.) Through the Burman treatment types other than architectural, which Burma has borrowed, acquire a new and distinctive interest.

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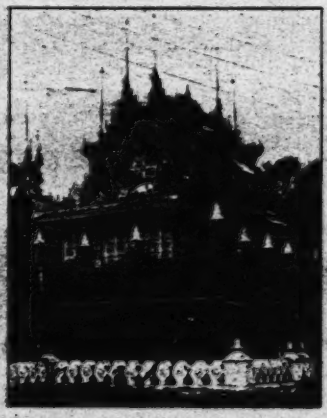
When a *kyaung*, or any work of public utility, has been undertaken by the people of a village jointly, it is kept in good repair. But when it has been carried out at the cost of an individual—and this applies to most of the public works—the repairs are left to the founder and to his family, who have frequently



61. ORNAMENTATION OF KYAUNG.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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62. EAVES ORNAMENT.

exhausted their resources in the building of it. In the moist region the effects of rain and vegetation combine to dilapidate buildings in less than a lifetime. The stone-grey and lichen-covered wood attains the distinction of age before its time. In the dry zone of Burma Proper fires are very frequent. Few examples of wood architecture of over a century old exist anywhere. It is scarcely possible to trace the steps by which the present style developed from the Indian models.

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As distinguished from the *kyaung*, *thein*, and other wood buildings, the *Zedi*, which are such a prominent feature of Burma and Siam, are of masonry. In Arakán they are of hewn stone; elsewhere they are of brick plastered with lime. It is a point of honour with the Buddhists of those countries to crown every eminence with a *zedi*. The chief *zedi* of a place—*Payá-dyí*—is on the highest ground in the vicinity, and is cared for by the public. The subsidiary *zedi*, the *wut*, *tazáung*, and other accessories which cluster around the *Payá-dyí*, are the work of private individuals. Old and new are huddled in chaotic profusion. Many erections are ruinous and disregarded. But so long as a vestige of the original structure remains, it monopolises the site. The development of the conical *zedi* may be traced, step by step, from the ancient temple. Originally, *zedi* are shrines for relics of the Buddha—the Indian *Stupa*, *tûp*, *dágaba*, *dagôba*, of which last "pagoda" is a transposition. The vast majority of *zedi* only pretend to symbolize actual shrines. The shrines of reputed relics are

63. DETAIL OF EAVES AND GABLE

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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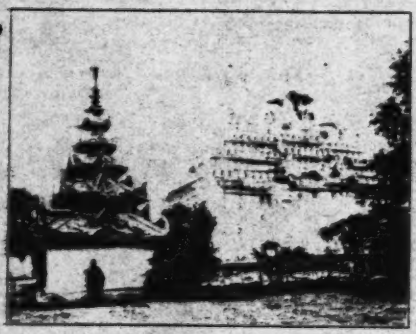

64. ANCIENT THEIN AND MODERN PYATTHAT.

visited by pilgrims from distances of months' journeys. The earliest relics cherished are said to have been the *parĕikaya* of Gawdama Buddha. Symbols of the sacred *thabĕit* are placed about the *zedi*. Later, the remains of the Buddha were venerated. Bones, teeth, and hairs are thus enshrined. Those reputed relics which can be exhibited, such as the teeth (Myohaung in Arakán, Anuradhapúra in Ceylon), are of many times the human proportions. The legend ascribes colossal stature to the Buddha. He did not tread the earth, but floated above it; his alms-bowl did not rest upon his hands, but remained suspended in the air (*cf.* p. 36). In its later form, the *zedi* consists of a pyramidal or polygonal base (*panát-chi*), with niches (*hlaing-gu*) for images of the Buddha. This part is the rudiment of the original four-square temple. It is represented in all stages of its decrement (Nos. 66, 97). Above the base come tapering courses (*pyissagan*), after these the bell-shaped body (*kaunglaung-bôn*) separated by three mouldings (*kyo-waing*) from the *thabĕit-hmauk* (inverted alms-bowl). Then follow seven head-rolls (*paung kun-hnilbôn*) surmounted by the lotus (*kyá-lan, saláung-bôn*), out of which issues the bulb (*ngapyáw-bû, pein-hmè-daung*). The canopy (*ti*, umbrella, No. 232) is a metal construction of graduated bands one above the other, richly embossed and ornamented. To the lower edges of these bands small bells are hung, which have vanes to their clappers to make them tinkle in the wind. The *ti* terminates in a long finial bearing a vane (*hngemmana*) and at the apex a silver orb studded with jewels (*seimbû*). On lesser *zedi* a glass ball or bottle caps the finial. The *ti* is always gilt, the cone generally whitewashed. In wealthy towns the cone of the *Payá-dyí* is gilt from crown to

65. LIMESTONE ROCK ON THE ATARAN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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65. SITAKA-TAIK, THATON.

platform (*tamánthalin*). Unlike the ancient temples with their stairs and corridors, the later *zedi* is a solid mass of brick and earth, plastered over. The summit is inaccessible, except by means of scaffolding (*uyau*, No. 217). *Zedi* are commonly spoken of as *Payá*, in the same way as are the images of the Buddha, for which the distinctive term is *sindu*.

In addition to the *zedi*, the *thein*, and *kyaung*, there are three other classes of religious edifices, the *tazáung*, *wut*, and *zayát*. All these may be decorated in the palatial style and are mostly of wood. But a public well or a roadside water-stand, the portal of a bridge or a wharf, may likewise be surmounted by the royal *pyatthat* in virtue of the religious distinction which attaches to every work dedicated to public use by private bounty. Nothing adds so much to the picturesqueness of Burma. The temple *zayát* (No. 98) is intended for sojourners in the precincts on duty days. The *wut* differs from the *zayát* in having a dais for images of the Buddha. The *tazáung* is only for the reception of images.

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67. SHWE-HMAWDAW PAYA, PEGU.

The ancient remains are almost entirely confined to the dry zone of Burma Proper, with the exception of a few in Thatôn and in Arakán. Those at Thatôn, dating from about 1000 A.D., have square bases built of huge laterite blocks in the Indian style. The ornament is deeply hewn into the stone. Above the laterite base is brick and plaster work of later date. Apart from the destructive influence of the climate, and of the rank vegetation the climate favours, a further reason of the scarcity of ancient monuments and inscriptions is the over-building of the shrines, by which the original work is lost to view.

Where we say "countless as the

25: Ferrars E-5. (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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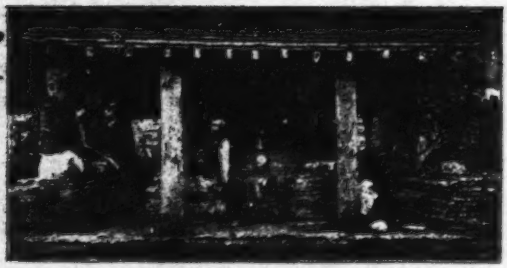


68. WUT WITH IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA.

stars," the Burman says "countless as the temples of Pagán." The remains at Pagán are all ecclesiastical with the exception of the city gates and ramparts (No. 6). The temple enclosures are now ploughed, but no building is cleared nor is any of the old material utilised. The Pagán monuments are of brick laid in clay and generally lime-plastered. Many have been wrecked by treasure-hunters. A few of the principal temples only are kept in repair. Pagán is said to have been exhausted by the temple-building of its kings, who, besides exacting labour from their subjects, must have imported skilled labour. An old saying is "the temple is finished and the country is ruined." The temple remains occupy an area of several thousand acres, in many places with just room for roads between the walls of the enclosures. The style of the Pagán buildings is Indian. It has been suggested that the Hindu type of work and possibly Buddhism itself reached Pagán by way of Annam: the Mun or Peguan race, from whom the Burmans adopted Buddhism, having a language of Annam type. The great ruins at Angkor Wat, two hundred miles east of Bankok, have been compared to the ruins of Pagán. (See *Through the Buffer State*, by Surgeon-Major McGregor, 1896.) Such a route as this would help to account for certain features of Burman architecture foreign to India, the superposed roofs, and everted gable-ends. The Indian types may have reached Burma by this circuit as well as by the direct route.

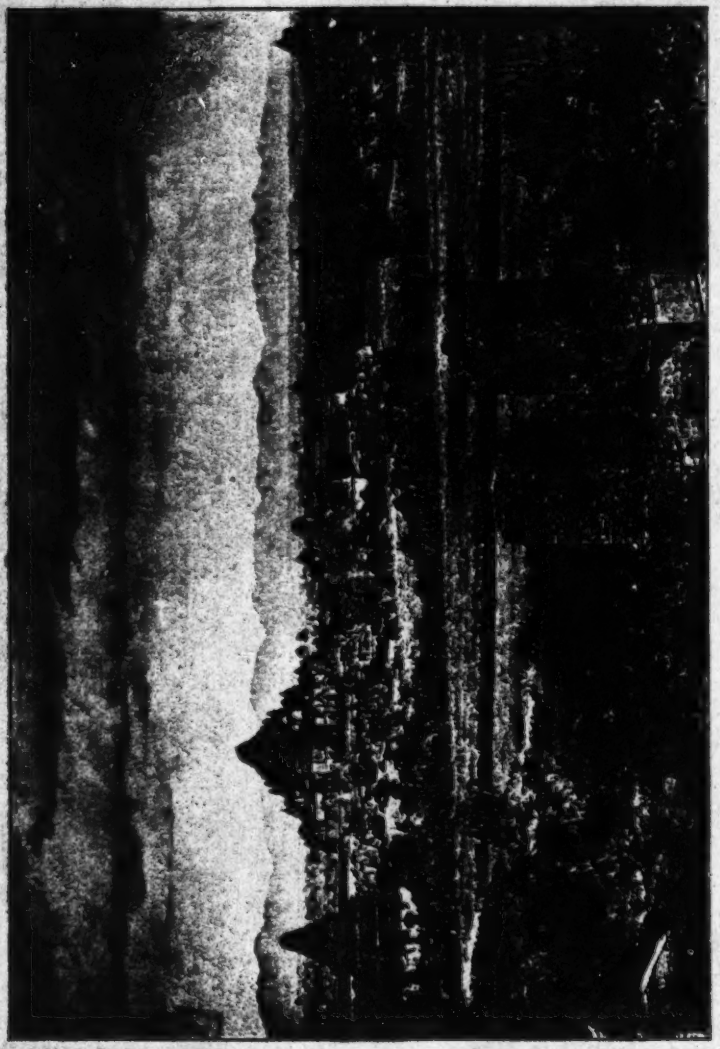
[653]
[538]
[177]

69. THADYA PAYA AT THATON.

The ancient temples of Pagán consist of brick corridors, one within the other, with vaulted pent roofs of masonry springing from the outer or lower wall to the inner or higher. The section of the vault is like that of a Gothic flying buttress. In the centre of all are colossal images

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 32]



70. RUINS AT PAGAN

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[532]

71. TERRA-COTTA FIGURES AT THADYA PAYA, THATON.

of the Buddha, set against the column which supports the dome or Hindu cone. The later domes are pure vaults without central support. In these ancient temples the conical *zedi* now so typical of Burma forms the finial only, held like a jewel, by four cusps. The lowermost portion of this structure resembles an inverted *thahtit*, the name of the homologous part of the modern *zedi*. Possibly this forms the actual reliquary or is the symbol of the same.

An example of direct imitation of Indian monuments is the *Bawdi Payá*. It takes its name from the *Bo* tree at Buddha Gáya in Bahár, and is a florid reproduction of the *stupa* there. It was built by King Zeyathinka about 1220 A.D.

The temple named after Ananda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, was built by King Kyansitthu about 1080 A.D. Both the temple (No. 8) and the *thein* and *kyaung* adjoining (Nos. 64, 74) are in full preservation. The gigantic lattice gates of the inner temple are of teak-wood and probably coeval with the masonry.

The most imposing of the ancient monuments and the one which marks the best period of the Pagán architecture is Thappyinnyu Payá, built by King Alaung Sitthu, about 1100 A.D. (No. 73). Its height is two hundred feet or more.

[532] [177]

In the mural decorations at Pagán the Indian character is as marked as in the buildings themselves. India has evidently furnished the subjects of the Burman designer and trained his style (Nos. 272, 94).

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The Burman bricklayers had at one time lost the art of arch-building. A pointed arch like the Gothic is used in the temples of ancient Pagán (Nos. 75, 76).

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The images of the Buddha (*sinde*) are the principal features of the interior of the ancient temples, the true character of

72. BAWDI PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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77 IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ENCIRCLED BY FICUS.

(*ht-deitha*), where, after dedication, they cease to be private property. The sole virtue of these symbols lies in the pious intention with which they are dedicated. The figure of the disciple Ānanda is frequently placed in the houses or taken on journeys (No. 316).

Besides the reputed relics of the Buddha, the miraculous foot-prints which legend assigns to him on rocks in Burma and Arakán are venerated (*Chidaw-yé*). Every Burman knows that Gawdama never travelled out of Baḥár and was in all respects as other men; the licence of the legend is a poetic one. Models of these foot-prints are placed in the temple precincts. Here conventionality reaches the extreme; the sole is laid out with rule and compass and the surface mapped into diagrams of cabalistic import (No. 450).

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The Buddhist scriptures should be deposited in masonry temples (*Bitaka-taik*, No. 66). These exist in a few places, but in general the scriptures are kept in special chests (*saddik*) in the *kyaungs* (No. 453). The Shan-Tarôk (p. 146) place *saddik* in their houses, and take pride in the volume of manuscripts these contain. The complete Páli text, together with the patristic commentaries and glosses, written on palm-leaf, would occupy a space of perhaps one hundred cubic feet. The text alone would cover about one thousand five hundred quarto pages of pica type. Only a few *kyaungs* possess the complete Tripitaka. Besides the scriptures, other ancient writings are treasured, such as the *kyanza* of cosmogony (see Sangermano), the *Zát* literature—the legendary lives of the Buddha in previous states of existence, embellished with romance of recent date.

78 IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ON SALIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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The tall flag-staff (*tagúndaing*) is the most striking of the temple-accessories. It consists of a decorated spar, sixty to eighty feet high, from which floats a long streamer. The head of the pole is ornamented with a mythical animal, generally the *hintha* (*hanza*, a fantastic figure of the Brahmany duck) or else the *kínnayá*, a monster with the body of a woman in princely array and the wings and legs of a bird. The butt of the *tagúndaing*, instead of being planted in the ground, is frequently set between piles which are carved into figures of the mythical *thadyá* (p. 186, No. 7). The pole is held up by transverse bars passing through it and the piles.

78. TAGUNDAING WITH KEINNAYA.

Colossal lions (*chinthé*, No. 56) of the Burmese conventional type guard the temple approaches—monsters differing as much in their way from the prototype as the lions of our own heraldry.

Stands shaped like a *bálin* or throne, on which flowers and fruit are offered, are placed on the temple platforms.

Great bells are hung at every shrine (No. 97). The votary takes the deer-antler off the bar and strikes first the ground and then the bell. This is to call to witness beings both under the earth and above the earth and make them participators in the merit of the act of worship. The Burman bell has noble proportions and is hung by metal clasps of rich design, figuring the mythical dragon (*nagá*, No. 47). The tone of the bells is not rich, owing partly to the form, partly to flaws in casting. The greatest bell in Burma is that cast by the Emperor Bodaw Payá, on the European model, in 1790, for the temple he began at Mingún. It is said to weigh eighty-eight tons. A historic bell

80. TAGUNDAING WITH HINTHA.

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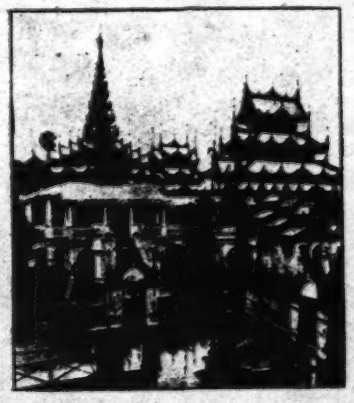
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

regarded as oneself, they are loved and are succoured, and by such actions the consequences of sin are atoned for. As imperfections are corrected by self-

98. TEMPLE ZAYAT.

discipline, crimes are expiated by the pains of hell (*nguyé*). For the perception of the great aim, that is, extirpation of desire and all that desire entails, there are given the principles *Anícca, Dhkha, Anátta* (change, trouble, dependence), which



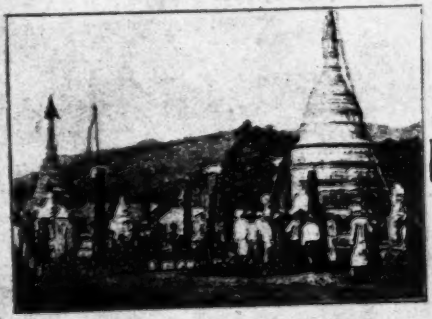
99. DECADENT KYAUNG (p. 29).

the pious ponder as they tell their beads, and which may be paraphrased as the *impermanence* of all things, the *struggle* which the "unpitying rush of changes" involves and the *helplessness* of the event, which is "at the mercy of blind

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

122. CUTTING GIANT BAMBOO (WABO).

and the roof-rafters. Straight trees are selected for posts, and are either left plain, or the sapwood is dressed off, or they are dubbed octagonal; the timbers are rough-hewn with the *dâ*. Posts of hard and durable wood (*pyinkadô*) are also squared, and the scantlings for the timbers cut with the saw. A special significance attaches to the posts of the house. It is thought unlucky if birds alight on them before they are roofed in. Sham bows and arrows are set at the heads of the posts to scare them (*hugemmana*). Besides the miniature bow-and-arrow stuck in bazár goods to scare crows, this is the only form in which the long-bow and arrow survive in Burma; in practice, arrows are used with a crossbow (No. 204) and pellets with the plain bow (*le*), and that not extensively. Another curious custom is the one of laying a piece of cloth between the head of the post and the wall-plate as a propitiation to the *nat* of the tree (p. 187). Before the large posts of temples are reared, their heads are hung with offerings, which the workpeople afterwards share among themselves. The front bays of the house have a floor only a few feet off the ground (*kyanndaing*)—unless where the flood-levels require it to be higher—making a verandah, the common or unenclosed portion of the house, free to strangers. The back bays have a floor about four cubits off the ground or above the lower floor. A bamboo or wooden ladder connects the floors. The upper floor is enclosed all round, and has one or two bays partitioned off. A pent-roof covers the cooking-place and grain-bin, where the rice-pounders and implements are stored as well; or else there is a shed for



123. REARING THE POSTS OF THE WUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

188. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*laiggya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myo*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *zedi*, the *Payd-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

187. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. P.82]

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HID FIRE IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCTS

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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323

209. THE HAMADRYAD.

one commonly notices. A great lizard (*pvt*), weighing twenty to forty pounds, infests hollow trees; it is shot and eaten by the Burmans, and its skin used for sandals. Most of the venomous snakes of India are common to Burma, excepting the small and deadly *krait*. The formidable hamadryad is added, but there are no fully established cases of the pursuit of man which is attributed to this snake. The casualties due to snake-bite are chiefly among the reapers. The gigantic python is not dangerous to man. Scorpions and centipedes are common enough, but their stings and bites are not often serious.

Good clay for pottery is only found in certain localities, and from these the manufactures are sent to great distances by water. Clay almost stone-hard and laterite are pounded with a tilt-hammer, screened, and worked up in certain proportions with water and sand, by treading with the feet. The best and strongest pots for cooking are not turned on the lathe but *patted* into shape by hand. These are but slightly porous and of a hard consistence. The lathe pottery is very porous when not glazed. A salt glaze is used for jars to store oil. For ornamental work, lead glazes, coloured with vitriols, are employed. At the potteries, immense reverberating kilns are built for firing the pots. Smaller kilns are fired all round or are excavated underground on the plan of the lime-kiln. Wood is the fuel used.

210. POTTERY—PATTING THE WARE INTO SHAPE.

333
341
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Stone for building is scarce, except in Arakán. Masonry is reserved for the *zedi*. Of late, owing to a fresh impulse from India, masonry has again come into greater use. Everywhere in the inhabited plains one

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

311. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

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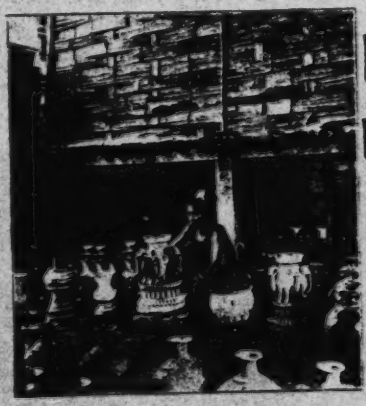
[323]

The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing



312. FANCY POTTERY, SHAN.

[323]
[463
563
177]
333
341

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

288
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[435]
[346]
[177
643]

217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathi*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-taya* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasô*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasô* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*tî*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with
[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tî* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tî* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the

[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The

[554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas

[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tî* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

219. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*zkwe-dî*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*thbyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *thbyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *zedi* is a conventionalised *tî* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thitsi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thitsi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*byat* and *dounglan*), which are turned of teak or *yamané* wood and given two or three coats of *thitsi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh. At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

220. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901. AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

322. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (VI. pp. 30, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tî* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season.

323. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

644 on such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's
crown (*sibbu*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
[344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it
is which in virtue of its religious character shares the
643 distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted
by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Bayin*—Lord of
Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the
White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in
the presence of the king, with face averted from the
effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called
[776] *thandawzin* used to repeat aloud the words uttered by
[532] the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the
[588] king and of the chief queen (*mibayâ*) is the *tibyû* (p. 101).
Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the
occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters
of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising,
eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the
occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepawdaw*
—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said
to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the
staff of his *tibyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the
king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to
the *yahán* he comported himself as an ordinary man.
The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great
[231] pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had
a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—
probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was
pampered so that it died. A second was captured in
1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white ele-
phants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation
in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the
"white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction
of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.
644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of
633 Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of
such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagáing, on the right bank of the Irawadi,
facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

204. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

388. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Ámayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebó, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahá-yazawín*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammá* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chrysé Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

389. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammá*, but commonly pronounced *Bamá*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

balloons are sent off, and the rivers are illuminated with rafts carrying lamps which are set adrift. Labyrinths of bamboo are erected round the *zedi*, which entertain the children and especially the hill-people, who pique themselves, not

416. NEW-YEAR TUG-OF-WAR.

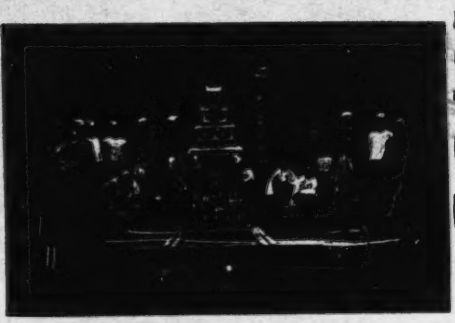
without reason, on their sense of locality. These labyrinths are called *Wingabá*, after the mountain maze, to which Prince Wéthandayâ was banished by his father, in the *sût* legend.

Tazáung-mòn is the next festival after *Thadíndyút*; it is kept in Pegu, but not in Burma Proper. At this season Buddhists commemorate the miraculous journey of Gawdama Buddha to the *nat* country after the death of his mother, to impart to her the enlightenment which had come to him on earth, and by means of which he had attained peace. Spires of bamboo-work and tinsel—the *tazáung-daing*—are built twenty to fifty feet high, as symbols of the stair by which Gawdama ascended. These are carried round the place with music, and are finally dedicated at the *zedi* (No. 422). In the months of *Tazáung-mòn* and *Thadíndyút* the *katéin-thingán* are dedicated, and the *mathé-thingán* are woven. The *katéin-thingán* is the annual supply of the primitive *paréi-kaya*, and is of a nominal character, owing to the profusion of offerings at other times. The *mathé-thingán* is a cloth wherewith to deck the images of the Buddha and the *paung* of the *zedi* (Nos. 429, 449). It is the offering of the women who weave it,

417. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

dwellers to whom the Burmans pretend to owe their origin. These ethereal beings are subject to the law of *karma*, and re-birth. They have to attain *nirvâna* like men, through virtue. Under "gods" in the Pali scriptures are to be understood such beings as these. Together with men they form the group *thaddawâ* — rational beings—to whom the message of the Buddha is delivered. (See Stevenson, *Lexicon*, pp. 603, 788.) The higher orders of existence are not to be confounded with the higher religious states, *ayakât, ayâttapâ*, which are attained by the "noble path" alone (p. 46). In this fairyland, situated in the *Himawûnta taw* (Himalayas) and its clouds, the poetry of the people centres. (See *The Soul of a People*, Chapter XXI.) As the heavens are indwelt by ethereal beings, so also everything on earth has its presiding genius. The heavenly *gonii* are beneficent, the terrestrial ones friendly or malign. The *nats* of the mountains inspire awe, and their protection is invoked against wild beasts and dangers to wayfarers. A *nat* is pro-



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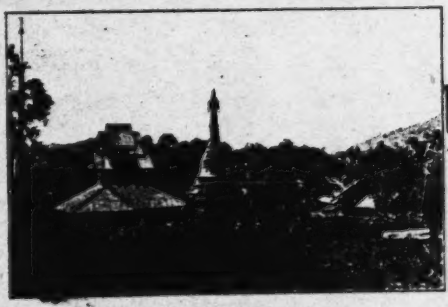
420. RIVER ILLUMINATIONS AT THADINDYUT.



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421. MAZES AT THADINDYUT.

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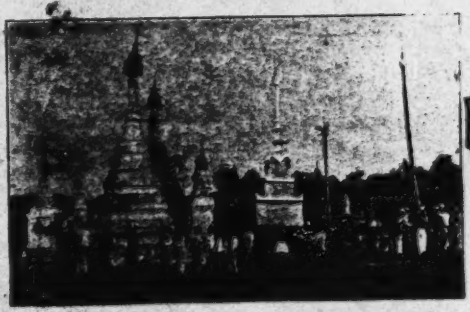

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422. TAZAUNGMON FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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423. PROPITIATING THE LOCAL NATS (NAKHAZA).

A nat is propitiated by offerings at a shrine, almost always in miniature. Only fruit, flowers, and music are offered by Buddhists. A special genius is assigned to the dwelling—*ein-dwin Min Magayi nat*, in whose little shrine a cocoanut is offered. The nut is replaced as the water dries up, which it is assumed the *nat* has drunk. There are *nats* who preside over countries, Û Mindyi and Û Mindyâ for Burma, Û Yindyi for Pegu, Bôdaw and his sons for Thatôn, and other local *nats*. These *nats* are propitiated by such offerings as a crown, or by standing guard before their images, upon undertaking a journey, entering on a race or other contest. The five *nats* of the firmament have a special cult associated with that of the eight planets, with which the Buddha and eight *yakánda* are mixed up. The local *nats* are most commonly propitiated in *pyatho* (December), the harvest month. The visitations of malign spirits are attributed to what the Burmans call unripe (*asín*) deaths. Such are deaths from lightning-stroke, accidents of all sorts, child-bed, cholera, and whatever is violent and sudden. The normal re-incarnation of the *karma* of such is immature; they haunt localities as ghosts (*tasi*), and seek the bodies of the living for hosts, thereby causing sickness. Slaughter in battle accounts for a plague of this kind, and the one plague entails another.

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Pilgrimages to the great shrines are made in the dry months, especially at times of full moon. The most sacred shrine of the Peninsula and the perennial resort of pilgrims is the *zedi* on the site of the ancient Mun village Dagôn, renamed Yangôn (Rangoon). The legend declares that the original founders of the shrine deposited eight hairs

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424. SHRINE OF THE HOUSE-GENIUS—MIN MAGAYI NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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427. PILGRIMS WITH THEIR BELONGINGS.

1884, and has had to be replaced. The body of the image is encrusted with gold which the pilgrims affix; by a miraculous quality of the image the gold leaf is said to adhere without the usual size. Next in celebrity to this image is the *Shwe-zattaw*, a sacred footprint on the rock, west of Mimbu on the Irawadi (*cf.* p. 36). Only the site of the original footprint on the hill is shown. The rock which bore it clove asunder, according to the legend, in consequence of a profanation. A model of the original occupies a *tazáung* beneath. The fourth great resort of pilgrims is *Kyaittlyo Payá*, which is believed to enshrine two hairs of the Buddha. It is erected on a boulder which overhangs the peak of a mountain three thousand six hundred feet high, looking out on the plains

788 of the Sittaung river. The legend tells how this boulder—which is not a
173 rocking-stone—in days of greater piety used to float free above the summit. There are those who argue that even now a fine thread can be drawn between the boulder and the rock. About one hundred and fifty years ago

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428. SHWE-DAGON PAYA, RANGOON.

[DPP, P, 190]

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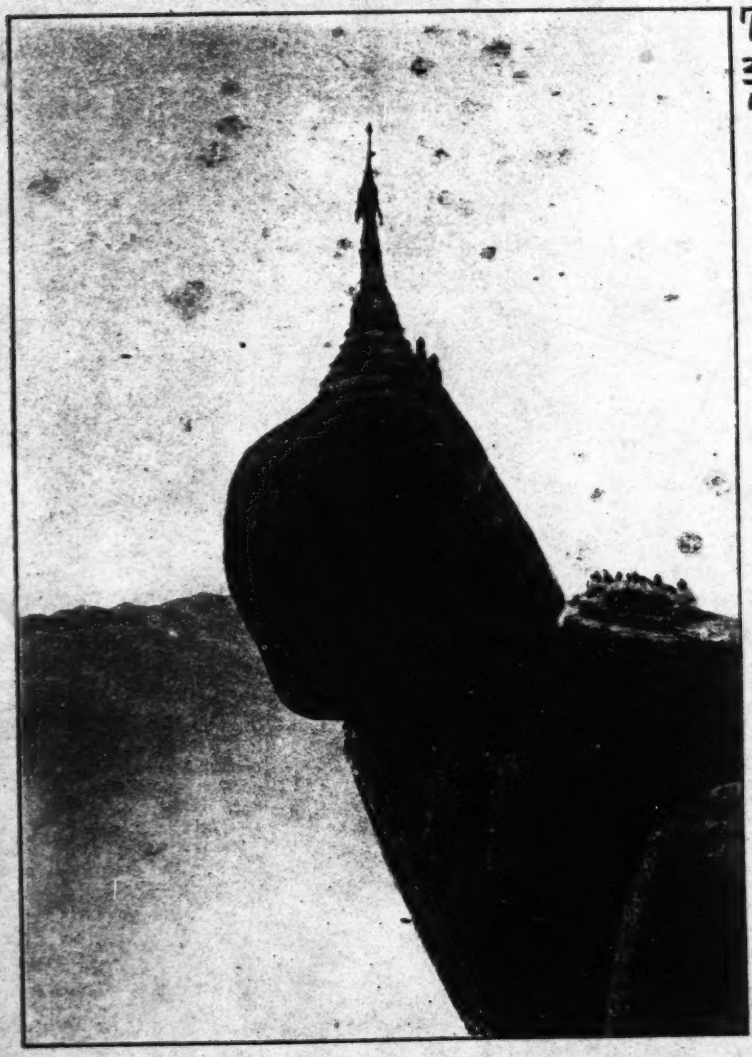

486. KYAITTIYO PAYA. [To face p. 190.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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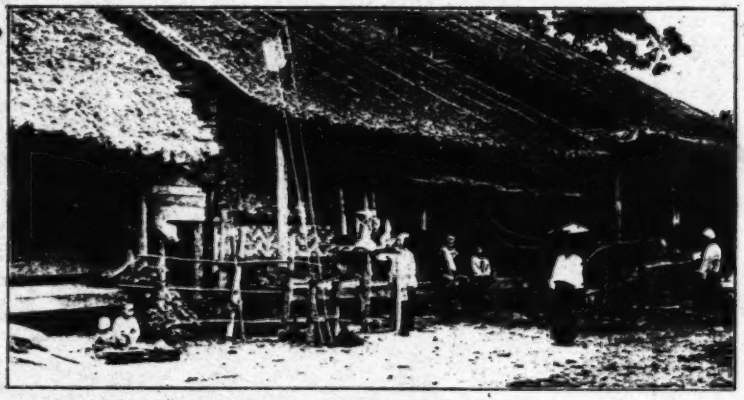

431. DECORATING THE THEBONZEDI p. 127.

CHAPTER IX

AGE AND MORTALITY

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432. A DAUGHTER PRAYING HER PARENTS TO NOBO-SAT.

THE men and women of the tropics age and die sooner than those of temperate climates. One meets reputed centenarians in Burma, but it is rarely that the old people can prove their age, unless they are able to connect their year of birth with some historical event. Ninety years is a very great age for a native of Burma to attain. When parents are past their prime their children pray them to *nobo-sat*, which means that they should be at the children's charge for the remainder of their lives, as the children had first been at their parents'. The turning-point is not marked by any formality, but a child approaching parents on a solemn occasion adopts the gesture of veneration. The aged are not idle; they preserve a great elasticity of mind and interest in things;

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29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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of the Burman."[24] The most adequate inquiry on the subject to-date is the unpublished thesis by Mr. Spear which I have been privileged to quote. "It must be said," concludes Mr. Spear, "that Buddhism in Burma has kept itself remarkably free from the practice of taking ideas and customs associated with primitive religion in general and Nat worship in particular, and making them its own.... It is Buddhism which is the real religion of the people. It is what they practise in their best moments; it is what they want their children taught.... To be a Burman is to be a Buddhist."[25]

We arrive, then, at the opposite conclusion to that stated by Mr. Lowis in his Census Report. Instead of saying that 'the Burman has added to his animism just so much Buddhism as suits him,' it is nearer the truth to say that he has added to his Buddhism just so much animism as suits his Buddhism.

Those who judge otherwise generally pay full attention to the strength and vitality of Animism, but they give less than due attention to the greater strength and vitality of organised Buddhism. They fail to note the intimate relation of the Buddhist Monastic Order to the life of the community. To this subject we must now turn, not only to accentuate the fact that Burma is Buddhist Burma, but to observe in sufficient detail the essentially religious context of the hope of Nibbāna.

3. *Monastery and Community*

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A monastery suggests to many minds a cloistered company, shut away behind high walls, or secluded on some remote hillside, as frequently in China. In a sense, the Burmese monks are similarly secluded. The monastic building, with its seven-tiered roof denoting sanctity, is generally found just outside a village, set in a bamboo grove or flanked by shady mango trees. Rising to a tapering umbrella point *(hti)* above the trees, there is a *tsedi* or pagoda,[26] which may be painted white or gold. Smaller pagodas are grouped around. Generally within the monastery building, but sometimes outside, there is an image of the Buddha, and probably several others — but always the same Buddha, Gautama, and

[24] Rev. G. Whitehead, *M.B.B.*, p. 37.

[25] *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma*, p. 80.

[26] *Zedi* or *tsedi*, from the Pali, means the offering place or place of prayer. *Paya*, which has also the latter connotation, is more frequently used for larger *sedis* and other shrines. The *sedi* contains relics. Hence it is nowadays often termed a pagoda (from the Singhalese dhagoba — relic (*dhātu*) shrine. But pagoda is not a Burmese term. Cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. 1, chap. XV, p. 186; Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, pp. 123 ff.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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invariably in the same posture, seated, with one arm across his lap. The whole atmosphere is one of ordered, unhurried peace, whether within the timbered buildings, or within the surrounding compound.

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But the monastery is seldom far away from the village, and this is of set purpose. The Buddhist *Saṃgha* in Burma might well be described as a teaching Order. "Of all charities, charity of learning is the noblest," observes a Buddhist layman,[27] and the monastery dispenses this charity freely. It provides the village school. There the boys learn to read and write. There, moreover, they are tutored in Buddhist lore, with a firm emphasis on ethical requirements. They learn the 'three Jewels' which enjoin reverence for the Buddha, the Law *(Dhamma)*, and the Order, and the five precepts -- not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicants. In the *Mingalā Thot* or "Song of Great Blessing," which they recite by heart[28], they learn that a wise and good man will seek to store up merit by fulfilling his domestic duties, by giving ample alms, by seeking 'self-knowledge' and by learning from holy men 'as chance affords.' The monastic ideal of utter renunciation, 'from all attachment free', is also indicated and 'Nirvana here' is said to be 'true happiness' leading to the Highest Bliss.[29] They will also learn stories of the Buddha's previous birth from the *Jātakas*, and, above all, the story of the historic Buddha.

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But attendance at the day school is not their only initiation in the faith. Every Burman boy, at the age of puberty or earlier, is expected to leave home and become a boarder at the monastery for a period which may vary from weeks to years. "A Buddhist who has not been a *koyin* (novice) or donned the yellow robe," remarks a Burmese writer, "is looked upon as one who has missed the most essential (part) of his experience in this world." The village school often appears to be a merry jumble to the outsider, but during this time as a novice "each boy gets individual attention.... There is a wholesome atmosphere of intimacy and understanding between the teacher and the taught." Most of the novices return to secular life, but some remain to become fully ordained monks.[30]

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The *shin-byu* ceremony, or rite of confirmation, which is another essential in the Burmese boy's initiation, generally precedes his entry to

[27] U Set, "Life in a *Phongyi Kyoung*," *Rangoon Times*, (May 13, 1931).

[28] See Appendix for fuller account of this Song and other Monastic instruction.

[29] "To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well," M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. v, pp. 81, 82.

[30] U Set, op. cit.; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chaps. II, III, and IV.

342 of soothsayers (9). Consequently he is naturally

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9. Bedin-saya, derived from Sanskrit, meaning Veda teacher. Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary (Rangoon, 1893), p. 782.

very careful when it comes to the construction of his house. With the aid of the soothsayer the building site must be investigated, the day and hour when to start the construction, and the choice of the timber have to be considered carefully. The shape of the posts, the irregularities of their forms, the knots in the wood where the branches were furnish important clues for the fate of the future occupants. The number of the
342 posts varies in accordance with the size of the
776 house. Usually six posts are erected for the main tract and each post has its own name. One of the posts is considered by most tribes as the seat of the house spirits. In the Burmese house this is the southeastern corner post of the main
[764] tract. The body of a deceased person is always deposited close to it until the coffin arrives. A coconut always hangs there in honor of the Mahagiri-Nat (Min Magayi), the household spirit /Figure 3--Shan house with leaf roof, Southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye)/ and the coconut must always be replaced when the milk
342 dries up. To avoid bad luck which spirits, liv-
776 ing inside the wood knots, might threaten, the
777 tops of the posts, or at least every third one, are covered with white or red fabric patches; sometimes for good luck, some Thanaka paste (grated rind of Murraya exotica) is smeared on them. Even the clerics do not seem to be immune
346 to the evil influence of these nature spirits,
776 whose origins date back to pre-Buddhistic times,
777 for these protective coverings of the posts can be observed not only at residential dwellings, guest houses, bridges, etc., but also at religi-

346 776 777 782 776 ous buildings, such as monasteries, /208/ monastic rest houses and wooden chapels. The burying alive of human sacrifices at the posts of the foundations of the entrances was in old Burmese days considered as an indispensable method of protecting important buildings, such as princely palaces, city gates, bridges, etc. The ghost of the entombed--according to Burmese belief those who have been killed by violence are rooted to the spot where they died--is supposed to watch as a guardian over the building, post, or bridge foundation.

782 787 As late as the middle of the past century, more than fifty human beings were buried alive when the foundations for the palace and the city walls of Mandalay were laid. But the protective power of those ghosts was of limited duration. From certain omens it could be predicted that the protection was going to cease, and then it was time to leave the place which was open to disaster. This was the explanation given for the frequent change of residence of the Burmese rulers. The small chapels with their stone images of door guardians at the gates and corners of the walls of the palace area of Mandalay still indicate the locations where these human sacrifices have been buried, though the modern inhabitants will not admit this to a European. At the corners, filled oil jugs were sunk over the buried people; the dwindling of the oil in the containers, which were examined every seven years, foreshadowed an approaching catastrophe in 1880. They tried to avoid this catastrophe with new sacrifices. Nevertheless, it happened. The British occupied the country and the kingdom perished (10).

171 782 10. Primarily, according to Shway Yoe, ibid., pp. 482 ff. It is well known that the burying of live sacrifices at construction foundations is a custom, widespread all over the world,

[p.226]

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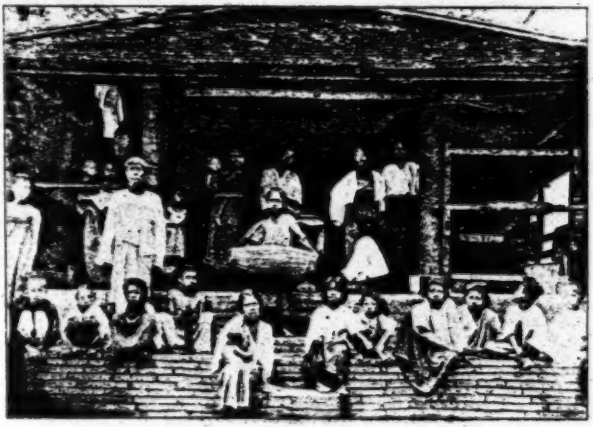

Figure 12

[For description see page 57, category 116.-Analyst]

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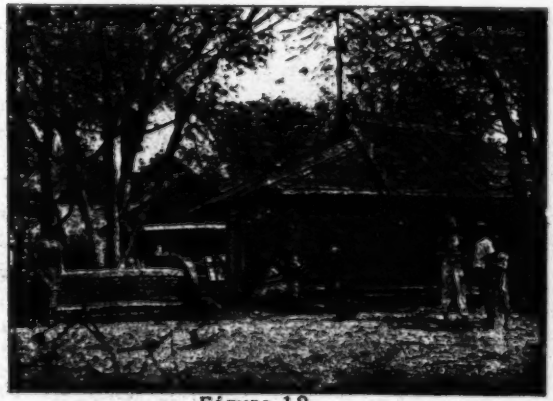

Figure 13

[For description see page 58, category 116.- Analyst]